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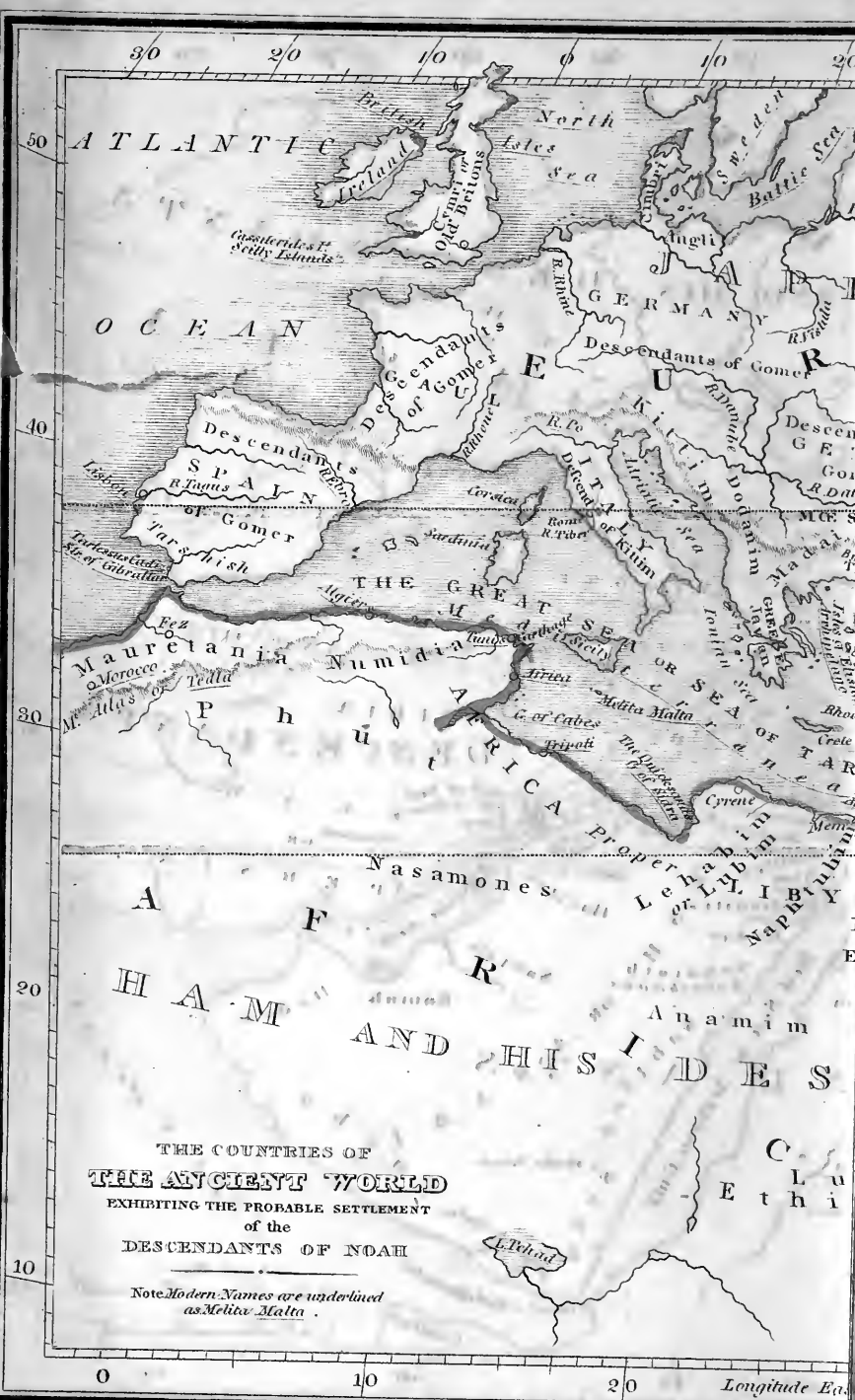
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THE COUNTRIES OF
THE ANCIENT WORLD
EXHIBITING THE PROBABLE SETTLEMENT
of the
DESCENDANTS OF NOAH

Note Modern Names are underlined
as Melina Malta.





Clerk's Office 2 Sept 1833

HISTORICAL CLASS BOOK;
See Volume 9th p. 52

(PART FIRST.)

CONTAINING

SKETCHES OF HISTORY,

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD TO THE END OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN ITALY, A. D. 476.

POPULUS AMERICANUS
Nemini servire aut consuēvit, aut debuit, nisi
Deo et LEGIBUS.

By WILLIAM SULLIVAN, LL.D.

Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; and of the Massachusetts
Historical Society; (Author of the Political and Moral Class Books.)

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY CARTER, HENDEE, AND CO.

1833.



See Volume 1782

Entered, according to an Act of Congress, in the year 1833,
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PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISEMENT.

WE offer the FIRST PART of the Historical Class Book. If this mode of treating history should prove to be useful, we expect to publish a *second* part, comprising similar sketches, from the end of the Roman Empire in Italy, A. D. 476, to the Reformation; and a *third* part, containing sketches from the Reformation to the present time.

We suppose that such a mode of treating history may comprise enough for general information in schools; and lay a foundation for more comprehensive study of history. The author does not pretend that there is any thing *new* in these pages, except in the attempt to apply the experience of ancient nations, to the people of the United States.

There is but one map with this volume; and that is added more for the purpose of delineating the square in Asia, and that of the Mediterranean, than any other. It was not supposed to be necessary to prepare maps (of which there should be several if any) as there are maps in common use which are sufficient. Cummings and Hilliard published 'An Ancient Atlas, selected from Wilkinson's Atlas classica;' which comprises maps of

all the countries treated of in this volume. There is an Atlas by Worcester, which is also well reputed. The first mentioned, (as well as many others) were used in this compilation.

CARTER, HENDEE, & CO.

BOSTON, JULY 1, 1833.

DEDICATION.

TO THE YOUNG PERSONS OF THE UNITED STATES.

YOUR nation has political, moral, religious, and social means of happiness, which have not fallen to the lot of any other nation. This volume shows how the nations, properly called *ancient*, arose, flourished, and disappeared. Their destiny will teach you what will happen to yourselves, or those who come after you, if you do not perform to yourselves, and them, the duties of good citizens.

Existence is a political and social TRUST. If your fathers had not so held it to be, you would now be the subjects of a transatlantic empire. If you do not so hold it to be, your successors will be slaves to a tyranny of domestic origin.

The administration of public affairs among us, demands the attention of every citizen who has anything to hope or fear ; for every citizen is one of the people, who are to be visited by good, or evil. The people unitedly, constitute the only legitimate sovereign. Sovereignty implies duties, and duties imply competent knowledge.

To understand what the right discharge of duty is, you must know what the causes of welfare are, and to what perils they are exposed. The former may be learned by comparing your own country with other

countries ; and the latter, by studying the actions of men on their fellow men. In these respects the history of every nation is instructive, because motives are always the same, among the ambitious and the craving, who have, in all ages, been the enemies of the human race. You are not to suppose, that those who may hereafter destroy civil liberty, in this country, will *begin* with the intention of doing it ; but, that such men will go on from step to step, in strengthening their dominion, just as an individual goes deeper and deeper in vice, until he becomes immersed in depravity.

Americans seem to be inclined to think of offices as though they were created for the benefit of those who are called to fill them ; when, in truth, they are created solely for the benefit of the people. Rulers are merely the agents of the people, and should be held to strict performance of their trust. But how are the people to know whether they are well, or ill served, if they know not, *themselves*, what duty is ? These pages are a humble attempt to aid you in obtaining that knowledge.

WM. SULLIVAN.

BOSTON, JULY 1, 1833.

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* The title of this chapter is erroneously printed in page 200.

Asia and Egypt.

Come! by whatever sacred name disguised,
Oppression! come! and in thy works rejoice!
See Nature's richest plains, to putrid fens
Turned by thy fury!

THOMPSON'S *Liberty*.

Greece.

Behold!

Where on the Ægean sea a city stands;
Athens! the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence.
See there the Olive grove of Academe,
Plato's retirement; where the Attic bird
Thrills her thick-warbled notes the summer long.
There Ilissus rolls
His whisp'ring stream: Within the walls then view,
The schools of ancient sages; his who bred
Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum, there, and painted Stoa, next.
There shalt thou hear, and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand, and various measured verse;
Æolian charms, and Dorian lyric odes,
And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,
Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer called,
Whose poem Phæbus challeng'd for his own.
Thence to the famous orators repair;
Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence
Wielded at will, that fierce democratic;
Shook the arsenal, and fulminated over Greece
To Macedon, and Artaxerxes' throne:
To sage philosophy next lend thine ear,
From Heav'n descended to the low roof'd house
Of Socrates;
Whom, well inspired, the oracle pronounced
Wisest of men; from whose mouth issued forth
Mellifluous streams, that watered all the schools
Of Academics old and new; with those
Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect
Epicurean, and the Stoic severe.
These here revolve.

MILTON'S *Paradise Regained*.

Rome.

Thus up the hill of empire slow they toiled
Till the bold summit gained, the thousand states
Of proud Italia blended into one ;
Then o'er the nations they resistless rushed,
And touched the limits of the failing world.

THOMPSON'S *Liberty*.

There, as though
Grandeur attracted grandeur, are beheld
All things that strike, ennobled — from the depths
Of Egypt ; from the classic fields of Greece,
Her groves, her temples ; all things that inspire
Wonder, delight !

ROGERS' *Italy*.

But when with sudden and enormous change
The first of mankind sunk into the last,
As once in virtue, so in vice, extreme ;
This universal fabric yielded loose
Before ambition still ! and thundering down,
At last, beneath its ruins crush'd a world.
A conquering people to themselves a prey
Must ever fall ; when their victorious troops
In blood and rapine savage grown, can find
No land to sack and pillage but their own.

THOMPSON'S *Liberty*.

The Messiah.

Rapt into future times the bard begun :
A virgin shall conceive, a virgin bear a son !
From Jesse's root behold a branch arise,
Whose sacred flower with fragrance fills the skies ;
Th' eternal spirit o'er its leaves shall move,
And on its top descends the mystic dove.
Ye Heav'ns ! from high the dewy nectar pour,
And in soft silence shed the kindly shower.
The sick, the weak, the healing plant shall aid,
From storms a shelter, and from heat a shade.
All crimes shall cease, and ancient fraud shall fail,
Returning justice lift aloft her scale.
Peace o'er the world her olive wand extend,
And white rob'd innocence, from Heaven descend.
Swift fly the years, and rise th' expected morn !
Oh spring to light, AUSPICIOUS BABE ! be born !

POPE'S *Messiah*.

The Fall of Rome.

From the depth
Of forests, from what none had dared explore,
Regions of thrilling ice, as though in ice
Engendered ; multiplied they pour along,
Shaggy, and huge ! Host after host they come,
The Goth, the Vandal, and again the Goth !

ROGERS' *Italy*.

THE
HISTORICAL CLASS BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

SECTION 1. MANKIND have a natural curiosity to know what is doing, what has been done, and what is to be expected. It is founded in sympathy. As one man may have acquired, avoided, suffered, or enjoyed, so may another. As nations are made up of men, and begin, go on, and end, as human life does, curiosity extends to the causes and effects of national prosperity, adversity, decline, and extinction. As the history of an individual's life may be instructive, and monitory, so may the history of nations be to all who make it a study. If one can see in the vicissitudes of a particular life, a combination of circumstances, wherein the adoption of one course of conduct would have led to security and honour, and another, to dependence and misery, so may it be, in the affairs of nations.

§ 2. Mankind have the same form, the same passions, and the same wants, under all aspects. The objects from which gratification is sought, may be different, among different nations. History is full of instruction as to the best objects; and every where full of warning to avoid those, which lead to affliction and misery. As like causes must always produce like effects among the human family, in all ages, surely it is most important to know what those causes have been which have produced safety, and prosperity, or degradation, and wretchedness.

§ 3. The study of history is peculiarly important to *Americans*, because they have the means of social welfare in an eminent degree; and far more so than any other people have had. They have an absolute control over these means. If they do not preserve them, and so use them, as to exalt human society, far above any condition known to any other people, it must be because they elect not to do so; but to add one more nation to the long list of those, who have appeared, flourished, and fallen, through their own folly, and perverseness.

§ 4. In what manner history should be written, depends on the class of readers for whom it is intended. In any case it should be true and impartial. As it is commonly written, facts are stated in chronological order; and the reader is left to draw the moral for himself. This is the proper mode when readers are competent to this service. A different course should be adopted when history is written for the use of young persons. A minute and tedious detail of facts, in which the same follies, and tragedies, are again and again repeated, by different actors, tends to no useful instruction. It can only leave on the memory an undefined impression, which a short lapse of time will make too uncertain, and confused, to entitle it to the name of knowledge. The first study of history should be of great outlines, traced in the series of ages. It may be made to be the foundation on which the study of maturer years may safely rest.

§ 5. But even a study so simple, and elementary, will fail of being profitable, unless the elements of history be first understood. The young student must begin by fixing these truths in his mind: All nations that are, or have been, are made up of human beings, existing on some defined portion of the earth, as distinct from other nations: All of them have had some sort of government, and some sort of religion: All individuals of the many nations have had homes, and property, which they desired to preserve: Most of them have desired, and many have attempted to get, the possessions of others.

§ 6. In all nations there are some persons who desire to subject others to their own dominion, by some means. So among nations, all of them desire to be superior to all others, and to obtain absolute power. The whole of ancient history seems to be made up of efforts to carry

such desires into effect. In modern times, and even in this century, one man, (as so many had done before him) meditated a universal empire.

§ 7. The elements of history are thus seen to be the exercise of power, and sometimes under the stimulus of the worst of passions. The machinery of this power, is the force of arms, fraud, cunning, and the terrors of superstition. The agents who have controlled this machinery, have sometimes applied it successfully; but most of them have acquired glory and renown, only to yield them to more powerful followers. In all this the mass of population, in every nation, have borne the burthen; and when reverses overwhelmed their chiefs, have been plundered, slain, or reduced to servitude.

§ 8. It is only within the last three hundred years, that the world has begun to wear a better aspect. The power exercised by one, or a few, over the many, has been more and more defined. The tyranny of priesthood has been gradually disappearing. The surprising truth has been demonstrated, that every man in a whole nation, has rights and duties, as one of his nation; and is an equal partner, with all others, in ordering what political power shall be, and how it shall be used. A no less surprising truth has been established, that it is a natural right to reason about religion, and to obey the dictates of one's own conscience. And the still further truth, that man has a right to be independent of all laws to which he has not impliedly, and freely, assented.

§ 9. These truths constitute the principles of political authority among the people of the United States. It is the purpose of the following pages to show how this enviable distinction has been acquired; to show, also, what its true value is, by comparing it with what is known of other people in the long lapse of time covered by history. A tedious recital of facts is not necessary to accomplish this purpose. The points to be regarded are, the portions of the earth in which memorable events occurred; the times in which they occurred; and to present the means of comparison, between other nations, and those of the United States.

§ 10. It is obvious that history can be known only from books; and that many books must have been examined, to sketch, even the outline of history, through

nearly six thousand years. It would be inconvenient to cite authorities in a school book ; while it is proper to say, that no fact of importance is stated, but on examination, and comparison, of authorities. It would be unjust not to say, that among the books which have been oftenest in hand, either for what they contain, or refer to, are Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, published by Charles Taylor, revised by Professor Edward Robinson of the Theological Seminary at Andover ; and the Encyclopedia Americana, (edited from a similar work published in Germany) by Dr F. Lieber, assisted by E. Wigglesworth, and T. G. Bradford. Other works must sometimes be mentioned in the course of the pages.

§ 11. As to the places, or parts of the earth in which all great events occurred from the creation down to the end of four thousand four hundred and seventy-six of the Christian era, they are comprised within narrow limits, compared with the whole surface of the earth. These places or parts can easily be defined by monuments which have been the same in all ages ; and by the geographical lines of longitude and latitude. All great events did not occur within the lines presently to be mentioned. But those which did not, (and these are few during the first four thousand four hundred and seventy-six years) began within these lines, and were carried on in reference to some power, or government, seated within them, and by agents who acted in reference to such power or government. Towards the close of this historical sketch, and especially within the last three hundred years, the scene of action is more extensive ; and includes the discovery and settlement of our own country.

§ 12. The scenes of ancient history will be found within these lines : Suppose one to stand at the south-eastern point of the Mediterranean Sea, on the line of the 31st degree of northern latitude, facing the north. From that point he goes north, on the 35th degree of east longitude, (computing from the Royal Observatory at Greenwich, England) by the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, four hundred miles to the north-eastern point of that sea ; and thence, on the same line of longitude, three hundred miles further to the 41st degree of north latitude on the south side of the Black Sea. He

then faces east and goes on this line of latitude eight hundred miles to the 50th degree of east longitude, which will be found on the westwardly side of the Caspian Sea. He then faces south, and goes on this line of longitude seven hundred miles to the 31st degree of north latitude. He then faces west, and passing on this line of latitude, crosses the Persian gulf, near its northwardly end, and the great desert of Arabia, and comes again in about one thousand miles, to the south-east point of the Mediterranean. Within this square, which will be referred to in the following pages as **THE SQUARE IN ASIA**, happened the most important events of ancient history during the first four thousand years.

§ 13. Standing at this south-eastern point of the Mediterranean and facing the south, one would have before him, at the distance of about eighty miles, a little on the right hand, the northwardly end of one arm of the Red Sea; and at the like distance, a little on the left, the other arm of that sea. These two arms extend southwardly, and form a point at the Red Sea, about two hundred and twenty miles from the Mediterranean. Between these two arms the Israelites wandered during their forty years in the wilderness.

§ 14. Departing again from the same south-eastern point of the Mediterranean, and going west on the 31st degree of north latitude, two hundred miles, and then facing south, one would have, at the distance of about seventy miles on his right side, the western mouth of the Nile; and at the like distance on his left side, its most eastwardly mouth. At the distance of about fifty miles, directly south, he would find the point, where the Nile divides into branches. On the west of this dividing point is Grand Cairo, the present capital of Egypt. About ten miles further south, on the west side of the river, was Memphis, the city in which Joseph dwelt. Six miles north-west of Memphis, are the pyramids. The whole country from the Mediterranean to Memphis, and about ten miles beyond, is an unbroken level. The flat land within the shore of the Mediterranean, and the two exterior branches of the Nile, forms a figure resembling a triangle of equal sides, which is the form of the Greek letter D, which is called **DELTA**; whence this territory

is usually called by that name. It rather resembles now the profile of a pear.

§ 15. From near Memphis, directly south, is the valley of the Nile, extending about six hundred miles to the cataracts of the river. This valley is shut in, on both sides, nearly its whole extent by lofty mountains. The greatest width of the valley is supposed to be about twenty miles; and the least about four. On this flat land, and in this valley, lived the Egyptians, in latitudes further south than any in the United States; that is, between the 22nd and 31st of north latitude.

§ 16. Returning again to the south-east point of the Mediterranean, and going on the beforementioned line north, to the Black Sea, and in the same straight line two degrees more, viz. to the 43rd degree of north latitude, making the whole line about eight hundred and forty miles; and then facing west and going on this line of latitude about two thousand miles to the Atlantic Sea, a square would be formed, bounded eastwardly on the square in Asia, and between the 31st and 43rd degrees of north latitude, and bounded west by the Atlantic. This square includes the Mediterranean sea, all Asia Minor, and the northern coast of Africa. In this square occurred the scenes of the Grecian and Roman history, down to the destruction of the Roman empire, in the four hundred and seventy-sixth year of the Christian era. This territory will be referred to in the following pages, as THE SQUARE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN. The name of this sea is from *medius*, middle; and *terra*, land. That is, not a lake, but a sea, in the midst of the land.

§ 17. The square in Asia contains about six hundred and thirty thousand square miles, which is one third less than the whole number of square miles in the United States.

In this square in Asia, events occurred which affect most essentially the condition of the whole civilized world, at the present day. In this territory, a far greater number of persons than now exist in all Europe, died by violence, pestilence, and famine. This was the seat of renowned empires, of royal magnificence, of splendid luxury; but also of the most debasing vices, shocking profligacy, odious crimes, complicated wretchedness, and awful punishments. Here, that revelation was made,

which was intended to chasten and purify the earth, and to restore rational man to himself, and to reconcile him to his God.

§ 18. It will be seen in what manner and to what extent, the learning of the priests of Egypt has infused itself through various revolutions, into the learning and science of the present day. But deplorable scenes will be found, from like promptings, to have been acted, again and again, in this memorable region of Egypt as well as in the square in Asia.

§ 19. In the Mediterranean square, ambition, a cruel and desolating use of power, imposing grandeur, and human misery, may be found. But also, fascinating eloquence, scientific arts, examples of exalted virtue, and noble patriotism; yet, deformed and debased by a religion of man's invention, nourished and perverted to disgrace the human mind.

§ 20. From such fountains have descended the streams from which the civilized beings in all quarters of the globe, now draw their moral, intellectual, and religious nurture. Let the hope be cherished, that as the long course of descent increases, these streams will become more and more pure, until the human family shall have become as sound and healthy as their beneficent Creator intended they should be.

CHAPTER II.

From the Creation of the World to the Deluge, one thousand five hundred and sixty-seven years.

§ 21. ALL that is known of the world and of its inhabitants, during these one thousand five hundred and sixty-seven years, and the eight hundred and ninety-six years next following, making two thousand five hundred and fifty-three, rests on the authority of the Israelite Moses. To what credit is this historian entitled ? He is to be received as a high authority for many reasons ; and among them the following : He did most extraordinary acts among a whole people, who were most intensely interested to know, whether they were deceived or not. That people received directly from him, the writings in which his own, and their history, are contained. These writings have been most faithfully preserved through all the wonderful destiny allotted to that people. They are commonly received as true, and unquestionable, by all denominations of Christians, throughout the earth ; and by the widely extended followers of Mahomet. Science, and especially the philosophy of language, firmly support the truth of Mosaic history. It has been translated into most of the languages of the earth ; and has been interwoven in all the absurd theories of religion, which pagans have invented ; though so deformed and obscured, as to be discerned only by learned scrutiny.*

§ 22. But the highest evidence of authenticity is found in the writings themselves, of this historian. His competency to give the history of himself, as well as of his countrymen, is a proper subject of inquiry. All who have read of his origin in the Bible, know that he came

* We are not ignorant of the discussions which have arisen on the books of Moses. But as all historians found, and sustain, their theories on the authenticity of these writings ; and considering them to agree with numerous geographical and historical facts, which cannot be disputed, for all the purposes of this volume, we take them to be credible, and entitled to be considered as true.

within the decree of the king of Egypt, requiring that the infants of the Israelites should be slain. It is known that he was exposed in a floating basket on the Nile, (whence his name, *saved out of the water*;) and that he was found, and adopted, and educated, by the daughter of the king of Egypt.

§ 23. All the learning of that country, (and it was far more than any other then had,) was cultivated among the priests. This learning Moses had; but it consisted mostly of imperfect systems of astronomy, and of the ceremonies of an idolatrous religion. The arts had attained to a respectable character, but morals were exceedingly debased; and the political policy was mere despotism. It was then far worse with all nations in Asia, except in Persia, where a better sort of idolatry was maintained in the worship of natural objects, that is, the sun, moon, fire, water, and the expanse of the heavens. The sublime morality inculcated by Moses, in the worship of the Deity, could not have been taught to him among men. The common motives to acquire, and to exercise power, do not appear to have governed him. His writings cannot be compared with others of the same time, as none have come down to us; but they hold an elevated rank in comparison with those which subsequent ages have produced. It is incredible that any man should, in that age, have been able to conceive, and to write, as Moses did, independently of his divine commission.

§ 24. The books attributed to this writer are the first five in the Bible; and also eleven of the Psalms, from the ninetieth to the one hundredth inclusive. Some writers suppose that Moses wrote the book of Job. This is doubtful. These five books are known by the name of the Pentateuch from the Greek *pente*, *five*, and *teuchos*, *book*, or composition.

§ 25. The first of these books is Genesis from a Greek word meaning *to be born*. The second is Exodus, so called from Greek words meaning *to go out from*. The third book is called Leviticus, because its principal import is to prescribe the duties of worship, which were conducted by the persons belonging to the tribe of Levi, and by the priests who were mostly Levites. The fourth book is called Numbers, because the first three chapters

contain an account of numbering the Hebrews, and Levites, at the time of erecting and consecrating the Tabernacle, while in the wilderness. The fifth book is called Deuteronomy, from two Greek words, which mean *second*, and *law*, as signifying the second giving of the Law, when Moses came down from Mount Sinai, the second time. These distinctive names were given by the Greeks, long after the time of Moses.

§ 26. It is supposed that these five books constituted but one, as the work came from this writer. Considering it as satisfactorily established, that Moses was the writer, which he declares himself to be, and as all respectable historians have considered his writings as the foundation of history, they are to be relied on as true. They are not to be understood as declaring, that the earth was created about six thousand years ago, but that it was then brought into form, and made habitable, and that a new creation then arose. With such a theory geological researches agree.

§ 27. Of the condition of mankind before the deluge, little information is given. It is not known what parts of the earth were then inhabited, nor what numbers existed when the general destruction occurred. Little is known of art, science, or language, then. From what is known to have been the state of society, immediately after the deluge, it may be believed, that the prevailing depravity, was the cause of divine displeasure. There are learned discussions on the Mosaic account of the manner in which Noah, his wife, his three sons, and their wives, were preserved from the general fate. The attempts to discredit Moses have not been successful; nor can any reasoning maintain that the power which could create, continue, and govern the universe, could not have ordered events in the manner, which the sacred volume discloses.

§ 28. Moses relates that the waters remained on the earth one hundred and fifty days, and that the ark then rested on Mount Ararat, a lofty elevation situated near the middle of the north line in the square of Asia, south-eastwardly of the south-east end of the Black Sea. Somewhere in this region, Noah and his family resumed their station on the earth; and from him, and his children, all who dwell on the earth are supposed to be descended.

It has been regretted that the history of Moses was not more copious, as to the re-peopling of the earth; and that so little is stated concerning the migrations eastwardly, southwardly, and northwardly from the places where the progenitors of the human family were first established. But it is to be remembered, that Moses had a single purpose in view, that of tracing the descent of the Hebrews. This purpose, it will hereafter be seen, is connected with the present condition of the world; and that through the Hebrews must be deduced the moral and religious improvement, and the social refinement, to which mankind have attained.

CHAPTER III.

From the Deluge in sixteen hundred and fifty-seven to the Death of Moses, in the year of the World twenty-five hundred and fifty three, eight hundred and ninety-six-years.

§ 29. It is supposed that the family of Noah were at first *nomads*; a word in common use from the Greek *nomades*, meaning living on pasturage, or leading a wandering life, from place to place, and dwelling in tents.

There are tribes in Central Asia who are nomads at the present day, and such is still the life of the Arabs. This mode of life is followed by that of cultivating the soil; and this by the arts, and commerce, which rely on agriculture; and from the latter, and from arts and commerce, nations attain to their best condition, when favoured by good government, sound morals, and rational religion. Nomadic tribes may easily be gathered in favourable climes, into a distinct people, or nation, especially when a sense of common interest springs up to defend, or attack.

§ 30. One mode of defence is to be within walls or cities. Thus, we soon read of cities in the Mosaic account, in the regions watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris. The former river rises in the mountainous country near to the south-east corner of the Black Sea, and takes first a south-westwardly course towards the Mediterranean; and then runs south-eastwardly through the square of Asia, to the Persian gulf.

The Tigris rises not so far to the north as the Euphrates, and runs nearly parallel to it, on its north-eastern side. These rivers are represented as uniting about a hundred miles before they reach the gulf of Persia. On the banks of these rivers cities soon arose, and several of them are mentioned by Moses, at an early period. Doubtless the descendants of Noah emigrated from the territories watered by these rivers into the east, the north, and southwardly into Arabia. Of these migrations there is no certain account. The ter-

ritory between the two rivers acquired the name of Mesopotamia, from two Greek words meaning *between the rivers*. — There are only two events which require a particular notice, before entering on the origin of the Hebrews. The one is the confusion of languages ; and the other the calling of ‘ Abram.’

§ 31. Moses relates that about one hundred years (or 113) after the deluge, the tower of Babel was erected ; and that while it was building God confounded the language then spoken ; and that the workmen were arrested in their labours, by their inability to understand each other ; and that different languages were then given to these persons. Those who have been disposed to scoff at Holy Writ, have considered the confusion of tongues as entirely fabulous. But however improbable historical events may seem to be, they are rarely destitute of all foundation, though they may have undergone the changes to which tradition, and poetical fancy are well known to subject them. In this instance (the building of Babel, and the gift of many tongues) some such event must have occurred, unless the Mosaic history be entirely rejected.

§ 32. It cannot be denied that not long after the deluge, there were distinct languages ; how many of them cannot be ascertained.

In the time of Moses, the language spoken in Egypt, that which the Israelites spoke, and that which was spoken in Arabia, were all different ; and those who spoke only one of these could not understand those who spoke either of the others. There were also different languages in the square of Asia at that time.

§ 33. When authentic history began among the Greeks, about four hundred years before the Christian era, it is said that the Greeks who traded to the Black Sea, carried with them seven different interpreters. At the present day, there are many hundreds of different languages, and many which have been, but which are no longer spoken.

Some languages now spoken, are made out of former ones, as that of Portugal, of Spain, of Italy, and of England. Many languages are so radically different from all others, that they must have been original. This is said to be the fact as to many languages spoken by the

Indians of this country, among whom one would expect, if any where, to find similitude, if not identity.*

§ 34. It is not known that any people have ever invented a language. Attempts have been made to do this with all the aid of learning, and experience, and it has been found to be impracticable.

In the early ages of the world, there was less probability of success, and none of any attempt, since there was no call for the exercise of such ingenuity. It is supposed to be beyond the extent of human power to invent an original language. Whence then came languages?

Are they of human invention, or gifts of the Deity? When those who deny the Mosaic account of the confusion of tongues shall satisfactorily account for the origin of distinct languages, and of so many such, they will have entitled themselves to some consideration.

§ 35. On the second fact, the calling of 'Abram,' however obscure, and remote, this event may seem to be, it is the beginning of that long and wonderful course of events, on which the religion, which is now reforming and refining the condition of mankind, is founded.

About three hundred and fifty years after the deluge, Abram dwelt at the city of 'Ur, in the land of the Chaldeans.' Where this city was is uncertain. It is supposed to have been eastwardly of the Euphrates. Idolatry had already appeared in the native land of Abram, and even in his own father's house.

The three first verses of the twelfth chapter of Genesis, contain the command and the promises of Jehovah to Abram. In obedience to this command he departed for the land of Canaan, the same which the Israelites afterwards obtained, at the east end of the Mediterranean.

§ 36. Here the promises of Jehovah were renewed; and in pursuance of it the name was changed from Abram, (*an elevated father*) to Abraham, *the father of a*

* The Hon. John Pickering of Boston, (by whose labours the Encyclopædia Americana is enriched, especially on the subject of languages) says, in his lecture on Telegraphic language; 'It was estimated, many years ago, that there are in Europe, 587; in Asia, 987; in Africa, 276; in America, 1214. Great as this number appears, it is undoubtedly below the truth, as a recent author (Adelung, German,) makes the astonishing aggregate of 5860.' (This includes written and unwritten; but it does not appear whether it includes dead languages; that is, those which have ceased to be spoken.)

great multitude; and the name of his wife from Sarai, *my princess*, into Sarah, *the princess*, that is, *of many*, or *no longer confined to one*.

At this time, Sarah was far advanced in life, and had no child. Isaac was afterwards born. The name of his son Jacob, was changed to Israel. (Gen. 32nd chap.)

The sons of Jacob took up their abode in Egypt, at the invitation of Joseph, who had been sold by them into that country. From these brethren came the Israelites, who dwelt in Goshen. It seems to have been a point much disputed, where Goshen was situated. The opinion most respected is, that it was on the flat land on the east side of the Nile, just below where the river divides into branches. Its extent is unknown, probably not more than thirty miles square.

§ 37. Here the Israelites remained two hundred and fifteen years. Towards the close of this period, they are said to have been severely treated by the Egyptians, and to have been compelled to labour in building the first of the pyramids. If this be so, the earliest pyramid may have been erected about the year of the world twenty-five hundred, which would make the duration to the present time, three thousand three hundred and thirty-three years. But this is very uncertain; perhaps improbable.

§ 38. Moses is said to have been on a visit to his countrymen at Goshen, about the fortieth year of his life, and to have then slain an Egyptian, for oppressing an Israelite. To avoid the consequences of this act, he fled eastwardly, into Midian, on the east side of the eastwardly arm of the Red Sea, where he was received by Jethro, a pastoral prince of that country, and whose daughter Zepporah, he married. He dwelt here forty years, and while with the flocks, at Mount Horeb, the miracle of the burning bush occurred, (A. M. 2513) when he was commanded to return to Egypt, and liberate the Israelites. This commission was executed in the same year, by the afflictions which were visited on the Egyptians, on the successive refusals of the king to permit the solicited departure. (4 to 12 of Exodus.)

§ 39. The Israelites having gone out of Egypt, wandered forty years between the two arms of the Red Sea, south of the south-east corner of the Mediterranean;

having twice gone near to the land of Canaan, promised to their progenitor Abraham.

This long sojourn in the wilderness, is supposed to have been intended to raise up a new generation, who were strangers to the idolatry and vices of Egypt. It may be supposed, also, that the religious ceremonies instituted by Moses, were intended to counteract the influence of the idolatrous worship, which was observed by all the neighbouring nations.

In the year two thousand five hundred and fifty-three, Moses renews the covenant with Israel, and dies aged one hundred and twenty years, without having entered the promised land.

§ 40. On Joshua his successor, devolved the duty of finding the way to their destined abode. The whole number of the Israelites at this time is uncertain. In the second year after departing from Egypt, they appear to have had about six hundred and three thousand men, over twenty years of age, who were capable of bearing arms, besides the tribe of Levi, who were appointed to the service of the tabernacle.

Perhaps the whole number of Israelites of both sexes and all ages, may have been two and a half millions. But this is very uncertain, as many events happened in these forty years, which may have affected the whole amount, at the time of Moses' death.

§ 41. At this time the Israelites had advanced northwardly, by the east side of the Dead Sea, to the point where the line of east longitude 36.25 intersects the line of north latitude 32, on the east side of the river Jordan. From this point a line drawn due west to the Mediterranean would be about eighty-two miles in length, terminating near to Joppa:

The mountains Peor, Nebo, and Pisgah, are peaks among many mountains, which are situate a little east of Jordan, and a little north of latitude 32. This celebrated river Jordan, originates in fountains among the mountains of Lebanon. It runs nearly south, parallel with the east end of the Mediterranean, and at the distance from it of about fifty miles. At about twenty miles from its sources, it crosses the 33rd degree of latitude, and immediately after forms lake Meron. About twenty-five miles further south, it forms the lake of Genesareth, or

sea of Galilee, perhaps fifteen miles long, and ten broad. It leaves this lake and runs about fifty miles further, and falls into the Dead Sea, or lake Asphaltites, called also the Salt Sea.

§ 42. This sea is about seventy miles long and of an average width of about eighteen miles. There is no outlet from this lake. Evaporation accounts for its not overflowing. It covers the ancient and beautiful vale of Siddim, in which were the cities of Sodom and Gomorrha, and three others, all of which were governed by kings; and all of which were destroyed by fire from heaven, in the year of the world two thousand one hundred and seven, in punishment for the odious iniquity of its inhabitants. The region round about this sea is represented by modern travellers as uninhabited, barren, and desolate, rarely seen by any persons except wandering Arabs.

Moses is supposed to have been buried in the plains of Moab, east of the Jordan; but the place is unknown. He died at the age of one hundred and twenty. *'His eye was not dim; nor his natural force abated.'*

CHAPTER IV.

Topography of the Promised Land.

§ 43. On the death of Moses, God commanded Joshua to lead the Israelites over the Jordan into the land which he had promised to the descendants of Abraham.

It will be useful to consider, here, what was then the condition of the promised land. That which the Israelites soon took possession of, was not all which was promised, for it was not until king David's time, four hundred and thirty-seven years afterwards, that all was possessed, which is mentioned in the first chapter of Joshua.

§ 44. The territory taken by the tribes which Moses had led, is a very small one, considered in relation to the numbers of persons who dwelt therein, and the importance of the events which occurred within its limits.

It lies between the 31st and 34th parallels of north latitude, and does not extend quite up to the latter; its whole length may be about one hundred and eighty miles.

It was bounded westwardly by the Mediterranean; southwardly it came down near to the 31st degree of latitude. Between the Mediterranean and Dead Sea, it was about sixty miles wide; just above the Dead Sea, it was about ninety miles wide; and thence it is more and more narrow, going northwardly; and at the upper end are the mountains of Lebanon, where its breadth may be about forty miles.

§ 45. The Israelites did not possess all of this territory. They had but a small portion of the shore of the Mediterranean.

The Philistines held a space of about sixty miles by ten, extending northwardly along the sea shore, from the 31st degree of latitude. Eighteen miles north of the 33d degree of latitude, on the shore, was the city of Tyre; and twenty miles further north, the city of Sidon; neither of which celebrated cities ever belonged to the Israelites.

About seventy miles nearly east of Sidon, was the ancient and famous city of Damascus. The coast including Sidon, and Tyre, and a strip of land extending a short distance north of Sidon and south of Tyre, and a few miles eastwardly from the coast towards the mountains, was the position of the kingdom of Phœnicia; which though small, makes a considerable figure in history. Its territories were at one time more extensive along the coast. The original inhabitants were descendants of Canaan, the son of Ham, and grandson of Noah, and on whom the curse of Noah fell, for his unfilial conduct. The name Phœnicians was given to these Canaanites by the Greeks; and under that name they are celebrated for commerce, for distant discoveries, for inventions, and for high attainments in the arts. It is thought that they had the knowledge of letters from Egypt; but this is very uncertain.

§ 46. Very little is known of the events which had occurred in the square of Asia, in the long lapse of nearly nine hundred years, from the deluge to the death of Moses. In that space of time, numbers and riches must have greatly increased. Numerous and great cities had arisen on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris. There seem to have been many cities, or small kingdoms, in the territory which the Israelites were to possess; each city, with a small space around, seems to have constituted a kingdom.

In the thirteenth chapter of Numbers is the report of those who were sent to examine the land of Canaan, in the year two thousand five hundred and fourteen, the year after leaving Egypt. They were employed in this mission forty days. 'We came unto the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey. Nevertheless, the people be strong, that dwell in the land; and the cities are walled, and very great; we are not able to go up against the people, for they are stronger than we.'

§ 47. After seven years of conflict, the tribes of Israel possessed themselves of the promised land, and it was distributed among them by Joshua, in the year two thousand five hundred and sixty.

Among the cities taken was Salem, where Melchisedec had been high priest, in the days of Abraham.

This city afterwards had the name of Jebus-Salem, which appears at or before David's time, to have been changed into Jerusalem.

For the purpose of understanding the future train of events, it will be useful to define the relative positions and distances of places.

If it be supposed that one is standing at Jerusalem, at the time when Joshua took possession of it, the purpose intended can be easily effected, having first ascertained the locality of that city.

Directly west from Jerusalem, is the Mediterranean, distant forty miles; directly east, is the north end of the Dead Sea, distant twenty miles; directly south, is the 31st degree of north latitude, distant fifty-five miles.

§ 48. Along this line of latitude, runs the northern boundary of the land of Edom, or Idumæa. Nearly north from Jerusalem is Nazareth, distant sixty miles; nearly north-east, is Damascus, distant about one hundred and fifty miles; nearly north-west was Memphis in Egypt, distant about two hundred and seventy miles.

A little to the north of east was Babylon, at the distance of five hundred miles. But this line crosses, for two-thirds of the distance, the great Desert of Arabia, which extends as far northwardly as the land of Canaan did.

§ 49. It is supposed, that the route from Jerusalem to Babylon was not across this desert, but around its most northwardly extent. In Solomon's time it was undoubtedly through Palmyra, or Tadmor, which is north-east of Jerusalem, distant two hundred and twenty miles, and distant from Babylon, northwest, about three hundred and forty miles. The travelled route from Jerusalem to Babylon, must have exceeded six hundred and twenty miles. The land of Canaan is a very different country at this day, from what it was in the time of the Israelites. Its numerous and lofty mountains must be the same; but not cultivated, almost to their summits, as they once were. Its rich and fertile valleys are no longer such. Its indolent and barbarous possessors, during the last six hundred years, have so changed and obscured its ancient character, that the inquisitive traveller, who takes the scriptures for his guide, discerns little

from present appearance, to assure him that he is in the place of which he reads.

There can be no doubt that this country, poor and miserable as it is now described to be, must have been capable of sustaining animal life to a very great extent in the time of the Israelites, and even down to the latest period of their history.

CHAPTER V.

From the time of Joshua, to the end of the Theocracy of the Israelites in the year two thousand nine hundred and nine, comprising four hundred and seventy years.

§ 50. COMMENTATORS on the scriptures, consider the government of the Israelites to have been strictly a *theocracy*; (that is, from *Theos*, God, and *Cratos*, government;) by which they mean the immediate government of God, in which his will was communicated from time to time, to his chosen servants.

The fortunes of this remarkable people appear to have been disastrous and afflictive, during most of this time. They fell into the idolatrous worship of their neighbours, and were repeatedly and severely punished for this offence. They were rarely at peace among themselves, and almost invariably engaged in wars with surrounding nations. During one hundred and twenty years of the four hundred and seventy years, they appear to have been held in servitude, at seven different times, by conquerors.

§ 51. They suffered most in their wars with the Philistines, who took from them the ark of the covenant, and kept it many years. They were defended by Sampson against these enemies, during twenty years. The life of this champion ended in the year 2867, by prostrating the pillars of the temple, dedicated to the god Dagon, of the Philistines, by which he, and three thousand of that people, were killed. This event occurred at the city of Gaza, on the shore of the Mediterranean, a little northwardly of its south-east point. There have been many commentaries on the life and exploits of Sampson, who lived but thirty-eight years. Considering that he was, for many years, a judge in Israel, his life indicates a degraded state of morals, among his countrymen.

§ 52. Samuel, the most able and righteous man who appeared among the Israelites in all these four hundred and seventy years, was contemporary with Sampson. He was the last of that class of rulers who were called judges.

This office seems to have been three-fold; temporal, sacerdotal, and military. The circumstances of the birth of Samuel were remarkable. His name is said to mean 'asked of God.' He is ranked among the prophets, and appears to have been the spiritual servant of God, in the affairs of the Israelites, when they were in their most discouraging and hopeless condition.

They at length demanded of Samuel a king, who reluctantly assented. Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin, was selected by Samuel to be the king of the Israelites.

§ 53. He was *anointed* by Samuel, a ceremony in use at coronations at the present day. This was observed at an early period in the history of this people, and is said to have been prescribed to Moses. It was emblematical of sanctification of persons, and of utensils, to sacred purposes. It was, in fact, the pouring of oil on the head of the person, or on the thing which was so sanctified. The oil was composed of exquisite perfumes and balsams. Samuel anointed David, the successor of Saul, while David was yet in his youth. This practice was not peculiar to the Israelites; it was observed among Orientals, independently of sacred use. The word unction, as applied to some intellectual efforts, may be derived from this practice. There is not much information to be gleaned from the scriptures as to the civil policy of the Israelites, during these four hundred and seventy years; nor as to their learning, or attainments of any kind.

§ 54. The impression left, after reading the whole account of them is, that they were a turbulent, ill informed and disorderly community; more so, probably, than their neighbours, because there was not a sufficient weight of despotism to keep them as quiet as others were kept.

David appears to have been selected by Samuel to be the future king, a circumstance connected with the great chain of events.

Samuel died in two thousand nine hundred and forty-seven, about two years before Saul, at the age of ninety-eight. In the last of which two years the remarkable event of the witch of Endor occurred; and which it is difficult to understand.

CHAPTER VI.

The reigns of Saul, David, and Solomon, two thousand nine hundred and nine, to three thousand and twenty-nine ; — one hundred and twenty years.

§ 55. Soon after David's accession to the throne, came the most brilliant period in the history of the Israelites ; and that to which the most frequent reference is made at the present day. The reign of Saul was turbulent and disastrous. He was engaged in frequent wars during his forty years, and was at first uniformly victorious over the different nations near to Canaan, on the east. But he at length incurred the divine displeasure and was rejected by God, as king ; and David indicated as his successor. In his last war with the Philistines, he fell on his own sword, through fear of being made a captive. David, the son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, was born at Bethlehem in the year 2919. This place, though inconsiderable in itself, is distinguished as the birth place of the SAVIOUR. It is about six miles south-west of Jerusalem. To this place Samuel went to anoint the future king, who was then fifteen years of age.

§ 56. Seven sons of *Jesse* were presented to Samuel, who said that the one whom he sought, was not among them. David was pursuing a pastoral employment, and was called from the fields into the presence of Samuel. He was anointed, and then returned to his flocks ; and soon after distinguished himself by vanquishing, with his sling and stone, the mailed champion of the Philistines. The applauses bestowed on David were the cause of Saul's relentless enmity to him. David was then received at the court of Saul, and though in great peril from Saul's enmity, he had the consolation of the most affectionate friendship of Jonathan his son.

§ 57. This person is represented as valiant, pious and virtuous. He fell in the war with the Philistines, at the time of his father's death. David mourned for the loss of Jonathan a year, and composed a funeral elegy to the memory of Saul and his friend Jonathan. David was

eminent as a musician as well as poet and warrior. In the fits of melancholy, to which Saul was often subject, he was employed to console the disturbed mind of the king, by his skill on the harp. The adventures of David, while endeavouring to save himself from the persecuting malice of Saul, are of romantic character; and are not surpassed by works which the imagination of modern days has produced. They show, however, a savage state of society; they are everywhere connected with violence, plunder and crime. Yet David seems to have had, on many occasions, and especially on two, when his bitter enemy, who stood between him and the throne, was in his power, a truly magnanimous spirit.

§ 58. After some years of contention and war, with Ishbosheth the son of Saul, for the crown, the latter having been slain, David established himself as king over all Israel at Jerusalem.

§ 59. He reigned seven years at Hebron (south of Jerusalem) and thirty-three at Jerusalem, in which city he died, (A. M.) (2990.) aged seventy-one years.

The truth of David's history does not appear to have been disputed by any of the critics who have attempted to discredit the scriptures. The point on which the principal cavil has been rested is, that David was a sinner, and yet is described as a man after God's own heart. Certainly David was a sinner. He repented, however, most sincerely and humbly. The expression that he was 'a man after God's own heart,' is said not to have been justly translated, as found in the Bible in common use; but should have been translated, that David was 'a person chosen to execute God's will.'

§ 60. Excepting in the instance of transgression, before alluded to, David deserved this trust. During Saul's lifetime, though David was his son-in-law, Saul sought him with an implacable thirst for his blood. Yet he did no act of revenge. When raised to the throne, by the unanimous desire of the tribe of Judah, he forthwith devoted himself to the service of his people, and to the execution of the law delivered to Moses. He subdued the enemies of his country, never lost a battle, nor failed to take any city, which he besieged. But he does not seem to have entertained the cruel, desolating spirit, which characterized war in his age, though he acquired great

riches by his conquests. To him, the promises made to Abraham, were in part accomplished. He was sovereign from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates.

§ 61. He was held in honour, and respect, by surrounding nations. He enlarged, adorned, and fortified Jerusalem, as the city of the Lord; and had prepared to erect a temple there in reverence of the MOST HIGH. As an individual, David had severe afflictions. These arose from the disobedient and ambitious projects of the members of his own family. He seems to have received them as chastisements. He is represented as a person eminent for his personal excellencies, and as one who had attained to high accomplishments. His Psalms, written at various times, according to the vicissitude of the events of his life, (though probably translated unworthily of him) are in such a strain of elevated devotion, as to have commanded the reverence of all future ages; and are now used in all Christian churches throughout the world.

§ 62. The point of peculiar interest in the life of David, among all Christians, is, that it was through him, *as the son of Jesse*, that the promises so long before made to Abraham, were to be fulfilled. In what manner, will be seen in the further examination of this nation's history.

Aware that on his decease there might be contentions for the throne, David made his son Solomon, king in his own lifetime. This monarch has acquired a greater renown than his immediate predecessor. During his reign of forty years, the children of Israel had, with the exception of an inconsiderable rebellion three years before his death, uninterrupted peace. As the gift of wisdom had been made to Solomon, perhaps among the best uses he could make of it, was to save his people from the hazards of desolating wars, so common in that day.

§ 63. He married the daughter of the king of Egypt, and secured a friendly understanding in that quarter. He was probably the greatest *merchant* of his own times, or perhaps of any other. It is not improbable that neighbouring nations found it more profitable to trade with him, than to war with him. To aid his commercial purposes, he built Tadmor, (on the route to Babylon) and which at this day is spoken of, and especially by the

celebrated French traveller Volney, as the ruins of Palmyra. He had ships on the Red Sea, which were conducted by the skilful mariners of Tyre and Sidon. It does not appear what port in the Red Sea, was that from which Solomon's ships departed, and to which they returned. It is probable that his ships went to India, for it required three years to complete a voyage. He brought gold from Ophir, but where that place was is unknown. It is not improbable that his ships were unloaded, far down the Red Sea, on the coast of Egypt, and that his merchandize was brought over land to the Nile. This was, undoubtedly, the course of the trade between the Mediterranean and India, at a later age. He dealt largely with Egypt, and especially in horses from thence; which he sold to the princes who dwelt north of his dominions. With the treasures left by his father, and with those of his own acquiring, he was enabled to build that celebrated temple, which is held to have been one of the richest, most extensive, and magnificent of the earth. It was seven years in building. The skill and taste of his own kingdom, and of neighbouring ones, especially those of Tyre and Sidon, were engaged in accomplishing his purpose.

§ 64. The writings of Solomon, like those of his father, have found a place in the scriptures. It is to be regretted that in the decline of life so many of the truths on human frailty, set forth by him, were applicable to himself. His riches, his renown, his wisdom, and the splendour of his court, drew around him illustrious visitors. Among them was the queen of Sheba, who undoubtedly came from Abyssinia, down the Nile. She was probably of the olive complexion, and not an Ethiopian. This queen was very favourably received by Solomon. The royal race of Abyssinia for some time after this queen, were of the offspring of herself and Solomon. One of her sons was at Jerusalem, and partly educated there. He became at length intoxicated by his own glory, and was seduced from the paths which the wisdom he had sought, pointed out. He abandoned himself to enervating luxuries, and finally to idolatry; and had one thousand wives of one sort and another; till in the midst of unexampled prosperity, he doomed himself to exclaim that 'all is vanity and vexation of spirit.'

§ 65. The follies which dishonoured the gift bestowed on him, and which sullied his fame, were felt by his people, in the public administration. Dissatisfaction, and even the spirit of revolt, were spreading and strengthening. This spoiled child of fortune, would probably have been awakened from his voluptuous dream, to the proper use of his wisdom, if his reign had not closed by death, hastened, no doubt, by his disregard of his own precepts.

He died in three thousand and twenty-nine, at the age of fifty-eight years.

CHAPTER VII.

From the death of Solomon to the end of the kingdom of Israel, (from three thousand and twenty-nine to three thousand two hundred and eighty-three) — two hundred and fifty-four years.

§ 66. SOLOMON seems to have been more disposed to secure to himself a brilliant renown, than to discharge the duties of a patriot king. He had prepared his people, not to preserve and obey the law of Moses, and to continue strong in union, but to follow laws of human invention, and to break into hostile factions.

Immediately after the death of this luxurious monarch, two kingdoms arose, through the common miseries of civil war, the one comprising the two tribes, Judah and Benjamin, and having the name of Judah, and Jerusalem its capital, in the south of Canaan; the other, comprising the ten tribes, having Shechem, thirty miles north of Jerusalem, for its capital; or perhaps Tirzah, six miles west of Shechem.

§ 67. The capital of this northern kingdom (or kingdom of Israel) was afterwards Samaria, six miles northwardly from Shechem and Tirzah.

Soon after Solomon's death the ten tribes revolted, and made Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, of the tribe of Ephraim, and a descendant of Joshua, their king. He abolished the worship of God, and rendered his adoration to golden calves, as some of his ancestors had done, in the wilderness. Abijah appears to have conducted an army on the part of Judah against Jeroboam, as related in the second of Chronicles, chapter thirteenth. The numbers engaged in this war are wonderful; and lead to some conclusions with regard to the whole sum of population: — 500,000 men slain in one battle, are a surprising number in any age of the world. On this point some observations may be proper in another place.

§ 68. The successor of Jeroboam was his son Nabat, in the year 3054, making Jeroboam's reign nineteen years; Nabat's was only two, Baasha treacherously

killed Nabat, and usurped the throne. He exterminated the whole family of Jeroboam, maintained his place as king about twenty-four years, and died a natural death. His son Eleb succeeded him, but fell by the hand of an usurper, at the end of two years. Zimri held out as king but seven days; and being besieged in Tirzah by Omri, set fire to his own palace, and perished in the flames. Omri succeeded Zimri and reigned eleven years. He built the city of Samaria in three thousand and eighty. Ahab, his son, then assumed the throne, and held it twenty-two years, and fell in battle. In the days of this king, Elijah the prophet flourished, as related in the first book of Kings.

§ 69. Ahab married Jezebel, a daughter of the king of Sidon. Her history is infamous, in relation to the vineyard of Naboth, and in seducing Ahab from his religious faith. The fate prophesied concerning both of them, was fulfilled. The dogs licked his blood; and Jezebel died, and was thrown forth, and eaten by dogs; (2 Kings 1—35.) Ahaziah succeeds Ahab; but for two years only, and is followed by Jehoram his brother. In this reign, (A. M. 3109,) Elisha the prophet appears. In three thousand and twenty-one, Jehu rebels against Jehoram, and usurps the throne, and reigns twenty-two years. On the death of Jehu came his son Jehoahaz, then Joash, or Jehoash, between whom and Amaziah, then king of Judah, there was war with exceeding hostility.

§ 70. Jeroboam, the second, came next, and reigned forty-one years. In this reign, (from 3181 to 3222) the prophets Jonah, Hosea, and Amos appear. Zachariah followed Jeroboam the second, and was killed by Shallum; who reigned till killed by Menahem; who was succeeded by his son Pekaiah, who falls by the hand of Pekah; who in his turn is slain by Hoshea, his successor; in whose reign, (in the year 3283,) the kingdom of Israel ends, by the captivity and removal of the ten tribes.

§ 71. The violent death of so many of the kings of Israel is a clear indication of the character of the kings and of the people over whom they reigned. This was the common lot of royalty in the square of Asia.

In the year three thousand two hundred and sixty-four, in the reign of Pekah, Tiglath Pileser, the king of

Assyria, came from his capital, Nineveh, to Damascus, and slew Rezin its king, and then entered Israel, subdued many cities, and carried away captive many thousands, principally of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. Shalmanazer, the successor of that Assyrian king, appeared in the kingdom of Israel in three thousand two hundred and eighty-three. After three years' siege he took Samaria, and carried away all that then remained of the ten tribes, and among other persons Tobit, of the tribe of Napthali. These tribes are no more heard of in the land of Canaan. It has been a subject of great inquiry, what became of these ten tribes. On this point an opinion will be given, when the current events in the kingdom of Judah shall have been noticed.

CHAPTER VIII.

The kingdom of Judah, from the death of Solomon, in three thousand and twenty-nine, to its termination in three thousand one hundred and sixteen, three hundred and eighty-eight years.

§ 72. THE kingdom of Judah lasted longer than that of Israel, by one hundred and thirty-four years. The succession of kings, and the length of time in which they respectively reigned, are as follows. In 3029, Rehoboam, son of Solomon, comes to the throne. In this reign many priests and other persons, dissatisfied with the state of things in the northern kingdom (Israel) withdrew from thence, into Judah. But Rehoboam also abandoned the worship of God. In 3033, the king of Egypt, Shishak, took Jerusalem and plundered the palace of Rehoboam, and the temple of Solomon.

§ 73. Then follow in the order of succession, Abijam, Asa, and Jehosaphat. In the last reign, the removal from the earth of Elijah occurred (2 Kings, chap. 2,) in the year 3108. Then came Jehoram, Ahaziah, and Athaliah, an usurper, who kills all the royal family except Joash, who is secreted in the temple six years, and who is brought before the people, and declared king, by the High Priest. He maintains his place, and slays Athaliah; and repairs the temple.

§ 74. Amaziab succeeds Joash, and is succeeded by Uzziah, whose son Jotham succeeds him. In the year 3246, the prophet Isaiah appeared. He is contemporary with Hosea, and both of these prophecy in this reign. In the reign of Ahaz, who succeeded Jotham, and in the year 3263, (*seven hundred and thirty-seven years before the event happened*) Isaiah foretells to Ahaz the birth of the Messiah. (Isaiah 7 — 9.)

§ 75. Hezekiah was invested with royalty by his father Ahaz, who in his reign had submitted himself to be tributary to the king of Assyria. Hezekiah restored the worship of God in the temple, and re-established the dispensations of Moses. In his sickness, Isaiah foretells his restoration to health, and gives him an assurance of

the truth, by the return of the shadow on the dial. (3290) In this reign occurred the miraculous destruction of the army of Sennacherib, while besieging Jerusalem. This king of Assyria returned to Nineveh, where he was afterwards slain by his own sons. (2391)

This brings down the course of events to the time when the ten tribes were taken captive, and when the kingdom of Israel ended. The kingdom of Judah continued yet, about one hundred and thirty-four years, being all that remained of the descendants of Jacob, under a government of their own, in the land of Canaan.

§ 76. Hezekiah still reigned, and appears to have been respected by the kings who dwelt east of him. In 3292 the prophets Micah, and Nahum, appeared and prophesied. On the death of Hezekiah in 3306, Manasseh succeeded him, and reigned fifty-five years. This king was taken captive and carried to Babylon, but he returned to Judah, and died there. He was succeeded by Amon, who was succeeded by Josiah, in whose reign (about 3363) Zephaniah prophesies. Josiah made great efforts to restore the true worship, and to recall his people to their duties. The book of the law of Moses, which had long been lost, or forgotten, was found in the temple, and the worship of God restored. Jeremiah begins to prophecy in the thirteenth year of this reign; and in the same reign appears Joel, and the prophetess Huldah. Josiah having gone against the Egyptians, was mortally wounded, and died at Jerusalem in 3394. Jeremiah composed lamentations on his death. Jehoahaz followed Hezekiah. Necho, (Pharoah, or king of Egypt,) deposed Jehoahaz, and placed Jehoiakim, a son of Josiah, on the throne, who reigned eleven years.

§ 78. In this reign, 3395, Habakkuk prophesies; and in 3398, Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem, and carries Daniel, and his associates, to Babylon, as captives. Daniel never returned from Babylon. It is supposed that in the year 3399, Jeremiah began to reduce his prophesies to writing. Jehoiakim having twice revolted from the king of Babylon, was taken and put to death. Zedekiah was the last king of Judah. Ezekiel, who had been carried to Babylon, prophesies there (in the year 3411) the taking of Jerusalem, and the dispersion of the Jews. In 3114, Zedekiah having revolted, an army was sent by

Nebuchadnezzar, which took Jerusalem after a siege of three years. (year 3116.) Jeremiah was in the city, during the siege, and continued there his prophetic annunciations. Zedekiah having attempted to fly was taken; and having been compelled to witness the slaughter of his own family, his eyes were put out, and he was carried captive to Babylon. In the same year Jerusalem and the temple were plundered and burnt; and all the inhabitants of the cities, and country, except the inferior classes, were carried away to Babylon.

§ 79. This is the beginning of the seventy years captivity foretold by Jeremiah in chapter xxv. It appears that Jeremiah was not among the number of the captives, but that he was afterwards carried by his own countrymen into Egypt, where he is supposed to have died. The population of Canaan, that is, of the two kingdoms of Israel, and Judah, is not easily estimated. The only mention of numbers is in 2 Samuel xxiv; and 1 Chronicles xxi. In the former the number in Israel is stated at 800,000; in the latter 1,100,000; and in Judah, in the former at 500,000, in the latter 470,000. These estimates apply to the same time. The difference between these two statements is thus accounted for; in the one case the *armed men* are included, and in the other not. If 300,000 for the armed men, be added to 500,000, in the one case; and 30,000 of the same description be added to 470,000 in the other, the numbers accord. Such is said to have been the armed force of the two kingdoms, which is a very great number, when the extent of territory is considered; and also when compared with modern armies.

§ 80. These are very insufficient materials for estimating the whole population. If there were 1,600,000 males above twenty years of age in the two kingdoms, there must have been over six millions and a half in both kingdoms, of all ages and both sexes; which is a surprising number for that territory, (about three quarters as large as Massachusetts) but Judea must have been very populous. It is the opinion of Rennell (author of the 'Geography of Herodotus,') that the whole of the ten tribes were not carried away, but only the higher classes. He makes an elaborate discussion of this subject, and concludes, that those who were carried away,

were not kept together, but were separated and dispersed in Asia, and were soon intermingled with the population of that vast country, and the national character entirely lost. The kingdom of Israel was less national than the kingdom of Judah. Still it is said, that there are settlements in Eastern Asia, in which the Jewish character is discernible. This is now merely a question of curiosity.

§ 81. Before leaving the Israelites, for the present, it is consistent with the design of this volume to inquire into the causes of their prosperity, and of their grievous calamities. If it be assumed (as perhaps it may be) that every people has as free, equal, and righteous a government as they are capable of living under, then the Israelites, for the long space of six hundred years, that is, from the Exodus in two thousand five hundred and thirteen, to the destruction of Jerusalem in three thousand one hundred and sixteen, appear to have been adapted to nothing better than a severe despotism; and it would seem that they could be tranquil under none other.

§ 82. The interposition of the Deity, his warnings, and chastisements, seem to have had no enduring effect on this headstrong people. When they were not compelled to unite to defend themselves from external enemies, they seem to have been busily engaged in conflicts among themselves. These were vindictive, cruel, and bloody. Their character was understood by Moses. They needed occupation, as all mortals do. This was, doubtless, the reason that their religious worship was so much adapted to the senses. The long peace in Solomon's time, and the splendour of his reign, probably supplied the demand for occupation, and kept them in comparative tranquillity.

§ 83. Of the means of instruction among them, very little is known. Education must have been limited to a few. We do not find any mention of schools, or instructors. Little is known of the manner of administering justice. What law they had, when they disregarded that of Moses, is unknown. It probably came from the mouth of the king, or of the priests; perhaps from some agents of the one, or the other. They seem to have been a social and a feasting people; and the higher classes to have indulged in all the luxuries they could command.

Their morals appear, at best, to have been of a low order ; their immoralities common and excessive ; their crimes often cruel and shocking. Their frequent wars, and their unquestionable valour, may be accounted for from two causes : war was the fashion of the day ; it was indispensable to defend, and delightful then, as now, to conquer ; but war was then, as it is not now, the means not only of conquering, but of annihilating enemies, or making them slaves. It was then, as now, held to be glorious. It was then a means of growing rich on one side or the other, but now, both sides are the poorer from wars.

CHAPTER IX.

The Square in Asia.

§ 84. OF the earliest state of this part of the earth, there is no other knowledge, than that which is given in the scriptures. The two rivers Euphrates and Tigris, have preserved their names, through all the lapse of time, and serve by their position to illustrate some historical facts. It is supposed, that the family of Noah increased around the foot of Ararat. This is two hundred miles south-east of the south-east point of the Black Sea, and three hundred west of the west side of the Caspian; (latitude 40° N., longitude 44° E.) They soon extended thence south-eastwardly, into the rich country between the two rivers, called Mesopotamia by the Greeks, and on both sides of each.

§ 85. As there was no obstacle to emigration, from prior possession, it may be assumed that they extended eastwardly, and south-eastwardly, from the square in Asia, and into India, Tartary, and China; and east and north-east from the Caspian. Historians consider this population to be the descendants of Japhet. There is reason to suppose that the portion which took possession of India, advanced in the arts and sciences more than any other of these emigrants did.

§ 86. Not a line has come down to us from the people who dwelt in the earliest ages on the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. All that is known (except from the scriptures,) is derived from Greek historians who wrote, at least, eighteen hundred years after the deluge. All historical statements before this time, are not more valuable as instruction, than oriental tales. No profitable lesson can be derived from so much as can be regarded as true, but this, that in countries where the power is absolute despotism, there must be splendid luxury among the great, dependance and misery among the mass; and that where religion is of man's invention, and conducted

by the partnership of priests and rulers, there must be ignorance, immorality, and crime.

§ 87. In the tenth of Genesis, it is related, that Nimrod, the grandson of Noah, established a kingdom, (probably by gathering Nomadic tribes,) the beginning of which was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Calmeh, as cities. The land of Shinar, there spoken of, is the same country in which Babylon afterwards appeared. The same country is also called, in the scriptures, the land of the Chaldees. The Chaldeans are supposed to have dwelt at an earlier date, near the south-east end of the Black Sea, and at some unknown time to have descended and conquered this country. There is also, in a note quoted by Whiston, in his translation of Herodotus, an intimation that the Chaldeans came from Egypt. All these accounts of earliest times, as stated by profane authors, must be merely conjectural. In the same chapter of Genesis it is related that Ashur, the son of Shem, went forth from the land of Shinar and built Nineveh, and Rehoboth, and Calah, 'and the same is a great city,' meaning, it is supposed, Nineveh.

§ 88. If Babel means Babylon, and Nineveh, the city afterwards known by that name, they were among the most ancient of the world, if not the first. As there will be occasion to speak of these cities, it will be proper to ascertain their respective positions. Babylon, on the Euphrates, was about two hundred and fifty miles north-west from the north-west point of the Persian gulf, near the 32nd degree of north latitude, and the 44th of east longitude. Nineveh was on the east bank of the Tigris, a little to the west of north from Babylon, and distant from it about two hundred and seventy-five miles, near latitude 36° north, longitude 43° east; and about three hundred and fifty miles east, from the north-east point of the Mediterranean.

§ 89. The descendants of Shem, are supposed to have moved westwardly, and to have settled along the western line of the square in Asia; and to have extended into Arabia, and to have inhabited all the Arabian peninsula, lying between the Persian gulf and the Red Sea. Arabia has been held by the same race to the present day. All the nations which appeared in the north-west corner of the square, are called the *Semitic* nations from Shem;

(Shemitic.) Here, also, were the Arameans (modern Armenia) so called from Aram, fifth son of Shem. Here also was the kingdom of Syria, north of Canaan. The Aramean, Syriac, and Arabic languages are called, by the learned, Semitic, as having had a common origin.

§ 90. On both sides of the two great rivers, and north of Babylon, and extending northwardly to Mount Ararat, was the kingdom of Assyria, having Nineveh for its capital. In this kingdom was also included, at one period, the region of Babylon. The earliest notice of this region in the scriptures is supposed to be by the name of Shinar, and next by that of Chaldea. The whole of the territory between the south end of the Caspian, and the gulf of Persia, was afterwards called Media. South-east of Media, and along the north-east side of the Persian gulf, was and still is, Persia.

The limits of Persia have been very different in different ages. The country northwardly of this, to the vicinity of the Caspian, called Parthia by the Romans, has been considered as part of Persia in some of the many revolutions of these countries.

§ 91. It would answer no useful purpose to narrate the events true or fabulous as they may be, of early ages, in this square of Asia. So far as scriptural history is connected with them, events may be considered as truly stated. All others depend on authorities on which very little confidence can be reposed, and on traditions, and (it is believed) principally on those which Herodotus gathered in his visit to Asia. This writer has been differently esteemed by those who have assumed to judge of him. Lately his reputation has brightened in consequence of the accordance of his details with late examinations of Egyptian antiquities. Herodotus is said to have been born at Halicarnassus, in Caria (Asia Minor) B. C. 484 years. Cicero held him in high respect, and considered him as the father of history by which distinction he is often mentioned.

§ 92. There were other historians who are sometimes quoted, but this writer has the pre-eminence from having actually visited the countries of which he writes. He honestly distinguishes between what he *saw*, and what he *heard*. It is supposed that most of the historical statements concerning this square in Asia, are derived

from him ; and that they have been since adorned by Grecian fancy, and then treated of by following historians, as though they were all founded in truth.

§ 93. No pretension is made to knowing what is true, or fabulous, in these ancient annals, until about the time when the account of the Israelites was suspended, to examine this part of history ; which it may be recollected came down to about 600 years before the Christian era. The history of the events on the waters of the Euphrates and Tigris down to the same time, is briefly to be stated.

§ 94. Herodotus says that the Assyrians had been in possession of Upper Asia 520 years. Others consider this as the duration of the Assyrian empire. Ninus is mentioned as the successor of Belus, and founder of the empire, and of Nineveh. (He may perhaps be the same person whom Moses calls Ashur.) This event is said to be about the time when the Israelites left Egypt, perhaps 2000 years before the Christian era. His successor was his widow Semiramis, who is represented to have been a most extraordinary personage, for conquests and splendour ; when in truth it is very uncertain whether there ever was such a person, or when and where she lived, if she ever did live.

§ 95. Then follow names of rulers, and narratives which it would be useless to mention.

There is no doubt that the kingdom of Assyria was great and powerful, in the time of Moses ; it is referred to as being such, at that time. When the safe ground of scriptural history is arrived at, we find (about the year 770 B. C.) a succession of kings, Pul, Tiglath-Pilezer, Shalmanazer, Sargon, and Sennecherib, all of whom are mentioned in the book of Kings. It was the last named whose army was destroyed by pestilence, when besieging Jerusalem, in the year of the world 3291, — or about 713 B. C.

At this time it seems that Babylon had become a province of Assyria, ruled by an Assyrian governor. While Sennecherib was pursuing his conquests in the west, Dejoces who had become king in Media, conspired with Merodach-Baladan, the Babylonian governor, to overwhelm Sennecherib. Whereupon Merodach set himself up as king of Babylon ; but he was put to death within

his first year, and was succeeded by Belibus, who shared the like fortune.

§ 96. The Assyrian king made his son Esarhaddon, (who was the successor of his father and the same person who is called Sardanapalus,) governor of Babylon. It is said that he was besieged by the Babylonians and Medes in Nineveh, about the year 3257, and that himself, family, and treasures were burnt, with his own palace, by his own order, to disappoint his enemies. Assyria appears to have recovered from this shock, for it is related that Nabopolasser, vice king of Babylon, with the assistance of the Medes, destroyed Nineveh, and established an independent empire, the seat of which was Babylon; and that his son Nebuchadnezzar succeeded him, in the year 3399; or about 600 years B. C.

§ 97. Under this monarch, as has been stated, the remaining kingdom of the Israelites (Judah) disappeared. The history of this distinguished person is so minutely detailed in connection with that of the Israelites, that it will not be useful to do more than refer to it. Like many others, whom fortune favours, he became intoxicated with his own glory, and was deprived of his reason, and in the moment of boasting of his greatness and power, he was visited with the misery of believing himself to have been transformed into an ox. He assumed the deportment of that animal, and moved on his hands and feet as though he were really such, during seven years, when his understanding was restored. The prophet Daniel was raised to great dignity and honour under Nebuchadnezzar. This reign continued 43 years and ended A. M. 3442.

§ 98. After two short reigns, Belshazzar was king, when Cyrus the Persian dethroned him, and took Babylon in the year 538 B. C. It was thenceforward part of the Persian empire until the Grecian, Alexander the Great, became master of these ancient kingdoms. Under Nebuchadnezzar, in profane history, Babylon was called the chief city of the whole earth, and the empire was called by the name of Chaldea. Babylon is supposed then to have attained to its highest splendour. In the scriptures it is spoken of as 'the great;' 'the praise of the whole earth;' 'the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency;' 'the lady of king-

doms; 'the tender and delicate, and given to pleasures.'

§ 99. One finds, in many books, descriptions of Babylon, all of which are copied from Herodotus. No doubt he was at Babylon about 2280 years ago; or near about the year 450 B. C. Three questions may arise on his statement. 1. Has his work been truly translated? 2. If it has been, did he intend measurements as his translators understand them? 3. Has he given an improbable, or a true account of Babylon? — He is stated to have said, that the city was a square of fifteen miles on each side; each gate opening on a street 200 feet broad, and running straight fifteen miles; walls 350 feet high, and hanging gardens overlooking the walls. He describes the palace, and then the temple of Belus, as 600 feet at its base and 600 feet high; and that on the top of the wall there were watch towers, on each side, opposite each other; between which a chariot and four might turn; that an immense ditch surrounded this wall; that the houses were three or four stories high. His descriptions are full of details, but he does not appear to be corroborated by any other writer. Though human vanity may do any thing when it has power to do what it wills, yet there must be some motive in making such a structure, even for the display of vanity. Walls 350 feet high, were four times higher than any wall of defence could need to be.

A work entitled the Geography of Herodotus (published in 1800,*) reduces the square of the city to $8\frac{1}{4}$ miles, and its walls to 75 feet high; and its hanging gardens to a height about equal to that of the walls. These gardens appear to have been raised on successive arches, the upper one supporting a square of 400 feet, with such depth of earth as to sustain large trees, and the whole area irrigated by water drawn from the river. The temple of Belus this writer supposes to have been in eight successive squares, each one smaller than that next below it, and the whole surmounted by an enormous statue. It is supposed to have been a place of worship, and also an observatory.

§ 100. The Chaldeans were astronomers, and astrologers, and idolaters. If credit be given to this author in

* By Major John Rennell, F. R. S.

preference to Herodotus, still Babylon may well have deserved its renown. But the mighty city has disappeared. Travellers who have studied its shapeless remnants are not agreed, as to what these remnants indicate. Where were the walls, the ditch, the hanging gardens, the temple, the palace? are questions which are answered only by conjectures. The lonely river flows where it did when it watered the willows on which the Israelites hung their harps, but the impious and depraved city has literally experienced the degradation of prophecy by Isaiah. 'It shall never be inhabited from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there; but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; the wild beasts shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces.'

§ 101. All the historical accounts of Cyrus are derived from Herodotus and Xenophon. Those of the former came to him through uncertain traditions; those of the latter are supposed to have been written for the express purpose of attempting to reconcile the Greeks to a monarchy, by delineating the character of royalty in the most attractive manner. Cyrus was taken only as the block of marble out of which the product of imagination was to be fashioned. It is very uncertain which of the two accounts is most entitled to credit. That which may be taken to be true of Cyrus is, that he was born about the year of the world 3400, and was the grandson of Astyages, who reigned in Media; that his father was a Persian, named Cambyses; that his mother was named Mandane; and that he was born when Persia was a province of Media. The successor of Astyages is said to have been Cyaxares, and to have been engaged in conquering all the nations west of him, even as far as the kingdom of Lydia, in Asia Minor, where Cræsus, so famed for his riches, was king. Cyrus served in all these wars, and gained great distinction as a warrior. Lastly he conquered Babylon by digging ditches and diverting the Euphrates from its bed, leaving him a dry passage into the city.

§ 102. The usual carnage and cruelty attended this conquest; and Cyrus became sole monarch of the whole square in Asia, and even of the whole of Asia Minor. The little that is certainly known of Cyrus is found in

connection with the history of the captive Israelites at Babylon. In the eighth chapter of Daniel, Cyrus's future greatness is supposed to have been foretold. He appears to have held Daniel in high respect and esteem, and to have reposed great trust in his integrity and talents. The most interesting event of his life, so far as those who now live are concerned in it, is, that he liberated the Israelites in the year of the world 3466 and B. C. 538. His declaration to this effect is recorded in a very solemn manner, in the first chapter of Ezra; and it may be inferred from it, that the presence of Daniel had produced opinions which were not before entertained among those who were not of the descendants of Israel.

§ 103. He is supposed to have reigned thirty years, and to have died in 3475, at the age of 70. Daniel did not return with his countrymen, who from this time forward are called Jews, in history; a name not given by themselves, but by others. Cyrus was succeeded by Cambyses. Not contented with the dominions which Cyrus had left, he added Egypt, which he conquered by placing in front of his army animals which the Egyptians held sacred, so that they could not use any missile against the advancing foe, lest they should do a deed worse than that of submitting to be the slaves of a conqueror.

§ 104. The character of this king is represented as cruel and barbarous. His reign lasted eight years only. After an usurpation by the Magi* of seven years, Darius, called Ahasuerus in the Bible, came to the throne in 3483. In the following years Haggai prophesies; he had returned with the Jews from Babylon, and reproached them for not rebuilding the temple. Darius is said to have divorced a wife named Vashti, and to have made proclamation throughout his empire, that the most beautiful woman should be found for him. That person proved to be Esther, a Jewess of the tribe of Benjamin, whose uncle, Mordecai, had educated her. Esther is supposed to have rendered most important services to the Jews, by influ-

* The Magi of Persia were astronomers, soothsayers, astrologers, and monopolists of all learning, or in shorter phrase, they were *priests* of an idolatrous religion. From them, the opprobrious term *magician*, is derived.

encing the King in their favour. The facts in the story of Haman and Mordecai occurred at the Persian court, which is supposed to have been at Susa (called Shushan in Esther) about one hundred and twenty miles directly north from the gulf of Persia, and about two hundred miles east from Babylon. This monarch attempted to extend his empire over Greece, and even to conquer the Scythians, who dwelt northwardly of the Black Sea. He will be again mentioned in Grecian history, in connection with the battle of Marathon.

§ 105. Xerxes the first succeeded him in 3519, who reigned twenty years, and was slain by some of his own officers. He is represented as a person of odious character. He will be again mentioned in connection with Greece, and the battles of Thermopylæ, Salamis, and Plataea, all of which occurred in his reign.

From 3559 to 3638 (seventy-nine years) there were seven Persian kings who are not worth naming; and in that time the usual number of usurpations, rebellions, cruel punishments, and domestic murders. In the last mentioned year, Darius Codomanus came to the throne. In the fifteenth year of his reign, Alexander of Greece put an end to the Persian empire, which then included all that Cyrus had conquered, and Egypt also.

§ 106. Historians have attempted to make some distinctions favourable to the policy, manners, morals, and religion of the Persians. Herodotus seems to think better of them than he did of most other people whom he saw in these regions. But taking a long series of years, there appears to be no difference that can be worth a definition. Separating, as should be done, all historical events connected with the Israelites (hereafter to be called Jews,) what is to be found in the history of so many millions of human beings as appeared in the square of Asia, from the year of the world 1657, down to 3657, comprising about 2000 years? Take out names of persons, and places, and the history of any one century is the history of all others. Barbarous magnificence; desolating wars; the most shocking crimes; the most disgusting depravity; tremendous reverses, and general misery.

§ 107. But there is a lesson in all this, which should be engraven on the heart of every mortal who dwells in

a land of rational religion, pure morals, free government, honest industry; and domestic security; and where no one can call himself master of his fellow man.

§ 108. The coming of Alexander makes a new era, but not a very different one from those which had gone by. We shall here leave the square of Asia to visit the Egyptians, expecting to renew an acquaintance with Alexander, when we come down to the time of his appearance in Egypt, as well as in Babylon and Ecbatana, as the lord of the earth. Ecbatana was the summer residence of the Persian kings, Shushan or Susa, their abode in winter. Ecbatana was about three hundred and fifty miles north-east of Babylon, towards the Caspian, and just within the eastern line of the square in Asia. If there be anything left of Ecbatana, which is doubtful, it may be under the site of some modern town or village of the Turks.

CHAPTER X.

Egypt, from the Deluge to the Conquest by Alexander the Great, in the year 3673, of the world.

§ 109. EGYPT is said to have been so called from being the land of canals. The Hebrews called it Mizraim, from one of the sons of Ham. In profane history, Menes is considered the founder of the Egyptian empire. Menes and Mizraim are supposed to be the same person. The Greeks called this country Aiguptos; the Romans, Ægyptus; the English, Egypt. The derivation of this name is unknown. A geographical outline of this country was made, in this volume, page 17.

§ 110. When, or by whom, this country was first inhabited, is far beyond the reach of history, and almost of conjecture. The opinion, which so long prevailed, that Ham was a black man, and settled Africa, is not the opinion now generally entertained. There are reasons for thinking that Africa was not first approached from the square in Asia. No resemblance is discerned between the language, manners, habits, or religion of north-western Asia, and those supposed to have been found in Egypt. The isthmus of Suez, was, in the first ages, as it is now, a sandy desert; the Delta may have been dense forest, swamp, and marsh; the Mediterranean flowed much further south, than it now does. Herodotus says the time was, when it flowed into the valley of the Nile. On the other hand, habits, manners, institutions, and religion, in Egypt, bear a strong resemblance to those known to exist in India; though one of the safest indications of common origin, *language*, is not found in the two countries. Figure, colour, and hair, in the people of the one country, and the other, are supposed to have been nearly the same. But, whence the black race, with woolly hair, came, is a problem, which has not been, nor is it likely to be, solved. If the long continued effect of climate be resorted to, then, successive generations of blacks, in northern climes, would indicate that north-

ern residence has a tendency to whiten the skin, and straighten the hair. This has not been the effect. Something may be said, on this point, in reference to the Indians of North America, who are found, from the cold climates of the north, all the way to the like climates of the south, to have the same complexion, and the same hair.

§ 111. Excepting the inferences to be drawn from the scriptures, concerning ancient Egypt, the source of earliest knowledge is the work of Herodotus. This historian went from the north side of the Mediterranean to visit this country, about 2300 years ago. He resided there some years. He saw, heard, reflected, and made a very interesting book. He does not appear to have seen any historical records. He distinguishes nicely between what he *saw*, and what he *heard*. As to the latter, it seems to have the common character of all tradition, which takes its colouring from the channels through which it flows. If this tradition were credited, Egypt had *then* been a settled country for 50,000 years.

§ 112. In support of the conjecture that Egypt was first approached from India, it may be supposed, that the original inhabitants of the square in Asia, soon sent forth adventurers to the south-east, and that as much civilization and refinement had been there attained to, as ever can be, among those whose worship has sunk into absurd idolatry, whose political rule is despotism, sustained by priestcraft; and where woman's natural empire has never been recognized, or known. From India, adventurers may have gone westwardly across the Persian gulf, along the southern shore of Arabia, and across the Red Sea; or, more probably, by the sea from India, to the eastern shore of Africa.

§ 113. Historians are supposed to have followed Sir John Marsham, who devoted much of his labour to ancient geography, and chronology, and who died in England in 1685. They divide Egypt into several distinct kingdoms, along the valley of the Nile, and the Delta. We discern nothing in all these ancient details, which is worth repeating. But, as like causes produce like effects, there is no hazard in assuming, that there were in Egypt as has been noticed in the square of Asia, relentless and exterminating wars; irrational religion; mag-

nificent but barbarous splendour, among a few, subjection and misery among the many; man, the lord of the earth, and woman his humiliated vassal, and never his companion, friend, and equal. The pictures which modern research has discovered on the granite walls of Egypt, and which have survived the lapse of ages, as well as the desolation of barbarism, disclose military triumphs; royal magnificence; power exercised to annihilate, or enslave; but nothing to show that the human race had then begun to take counsel from reason.

§ 114. It is related that about four hundred and twenty-seven years after the deluge, Abram went to Egypt, with his wife Sarai; that there was a king there, then; that the king was called Pharaoh, not the name of the person, but of his dignity. In the year of the world 2276, or six hundred and nineteen after the deluge, there was a king at Memphis, whose name was Ramesses Menos. In 2281, his successor was Ramaesses Tubaete, whose dreams Joseph interpreted, and whose minister Joseph became. If it were possible to name the successive Pharaohs, and the duration of their respective reigns, it would be a worthless labour, for it would teach nothing which it is desirable to know. We feel no certainty of being right, as to fact, even in attempting to point out the eras which are supposed to have occurred in Egypt. First, it is said, there was the dominion of the priests, who were an order of princes, or highly privileged nobility, and to whom Egyptian science is to be attributed. Second, the shepherd kings, who originated from an invasion of an immense army from Arabia; and who reigned in the Delta, and part of the valley of the Nile. Third, the conquerors of these, who are said to be of Ethiopian origin, and who came down the Nile. Fourth, a sort of confederated republic of twelve departments, governed by twelve rulers, one of whom subdued all the others, and established the line of Pharaohs. In the time of this republic, the labyrinth is supposed to have been constructed. Some writers interpose an invasion from India, but we know not on what authority; and that it may have been then, that a king reigned 'who knew not Joseph.' We pretend not to know how these things may have been.

§ 115. The Pharaoh who reigned in 2513, at the time of the Exodus, may have been Apophis, the same who was drowned with his hosts in the Red Sea. The Shishak of the scriptures may have been Sesostris, who in 3032, plundered Rehoboam's palace, and the temple of Solomon. Tharaca may have been the scripture Tirhaka, perhaps the last of the Ethiopian kings, and the confederated republic may come in here. In 3388, Pharaoh Necho made war on the Assyrians; and also on the Israelites, in which Josiah was mortally wounded, and Jerusalem taken. In the reign of his successor, Pharaoh Hophra, Africa is thought to have been circumnavigated, which is very doubtful. Nebuchadnezzar conquered this Pharaoh. Amasis caused Hophra to be slain, and reigned himself, in 3435. Cambyses of Persia, sought his daughter in marriage, and on being repulsed, made war on Egypt; and in the reign of the next Pharaoh, (who is called Psammetichus,) conquered Egypt, and it remained subjected to Persia one hundred and twelve years, till 3672, (with an exception of eighteen years,) when Alexander of Greece included this country in his conquests.

§ 116. From this rapid chronological sketch it may be inferred, that there is little or nothing to distinguish events, in Egypt, from the general cast of those which occurred in the square of Asia; yet, the present age is intimately connected with what *was* in Egypt, as we shall endeavour to show. The exploring traveller busies himself with conjectures over mounds of ruins; concerning the site of Babylon, of Nineveh, of Ecbatana, and of Susa. However well founded he may be, he does no more than to satisfy an unprofitable curiosity. But the Delta, and the valley of the Nile, are the regions which philosophy and science delight to examine. Here is the birth place of human refinement; or, at least, it is to these regions, that we must trace the first beams of that improvement and elegance, which, in after ages, have illumined society. But we are not to forget, that it was not here, but in Judea, that the true light came forth, which has enabled mankind to discern the true worth of all art, learning, and science.

§ 117. The division of the people of Egypt into *castes*, seems to have been a permanent one, throughout all changes. The priests were the first caste, and had all

the public offices, and all those connected with science. They were not only the managers of public worship, sacrifices, and oracles, but temporal ministers, and physicians; and probably, the only persons who were acquainted with letters, music, and intellectual improvement. The next caste was composed of soldiers of two classes, but how distinguished is unknown. Husbandmen, boatmen of the Nile, herdsmen, and tradesmen, formed distinct castes. The swineherds were the lowest, and held to be too degraded to enter the temples. All castes were hereditary, and not allowed to intermarry. After Joseph had been made governor of all Egypt, and raised to the dignity of riding in a chariot next after the king, and to a new name, signifying *saviour of the world*, he was honoured with the further elevation of *priestly* rank, and qualified to marry Asenath, the daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, or the city of the sun. His wife's name signified *belonging to Neith*, who was the queen of Egyptian deities. Ephraim and Manasseh were the sons of this marriage.

§ 118. *Learning, arts, and science.* — Within the present age, there have been laborious investigations of the antiquities of Egypt, in the hope that the meaning of inscriptions, which still remain on granite ruins, (called hieroglyphics, from the Greek, equivalent to sacred engravings,) would dispel the darkness, which still envelopes the early ages of Egyptians. Herodotus says, they had two sorts of letters, the one appropriated to sacred subjects, the other to common occasions. Beloe, a translator of Herodotus, intimates that they had three, and Warburton, a commentator (on the divine mission of Moses), that they had four sorts of letters. Whatever may have been the signs of thought, used by this people, it can never be known what they were intended to express, beyond the explanation which a knowledge of the Coptic language may afford. For all translations from hieroglyphics, must be into Coptic, and thence into some modern language.* Now, the Coptic, which has long been a dead language, and debased before it ceased to be spoken, by the addition of Greek and Arabic words, may

* Klaproth's *Examen critique des Travaux de Champollion* (the younger.)

not be the ancient language through which the hieroglyphics can be understood. The curious, therefore, must wait until it be known, much better than it now is, what mastery science may attain to, over these, at present, unintelligible signs. Suppose the research eminently successful, what is to be learned? Probably nothing more than mythological and historical records, which imagination finds no difficulty in anticipating; because it is known, from what must have occurred in other parts of the world, all that the wisest of these early Egyptians could have done.

§ 119. The Egyptians made some respectable approaches towards a knowledge of astronomy, and are entitled to be considered as the founders of that science. They believed that the earth was stationary, and that the heavenly bodies revolved around it. But as the sun was seen to approach the north, and return to the south, they defined his path, and divided it into twelve parts, distinguished by the names of the constellations, through which he seemed to them to pass. To these constellations they gave names, mostly those of animals. When the Greeks adopted Egyptian astronomy, finding the sun's path to have been marked by the names of these animals, they gave to it the name of zodiac; (from *zodia*, *animals*,) by which name it is now known. Among the many conjectures which have been given of the meaning of these signs, reference has been had to the great annual event in Egypt, the overflowing of the Nile; and the signs of the zodiac have been thought to be connected with the stages of this periodical visitation.

§ 120. The Egyptians were ignorant of the cause of the rising, and subsiding, of the waters of this river. It is now known that the overflow of the Nile is caused by the periodical fall of rain, around the sources of the Nile, far in the south, (it is the sixth longest river of the earth) at the time of the vernal equinox, although the waters do not begin to rise, in lower Egypt, till about the summer solstice. The waters rise about four inches a day, for three months; and are three months more in subsiding, and retiring within the banks of the river. Sixteen cubits, or twenty-four feet, is the desired rise; less does not make a productive season, and much more is attended by disastrous injuries. When the waters were highest,

the whole of the flat region resembled an ocean, in which cities and villages were floating. The rich slimy deposit of the Nile, gave Egypt its fame of being the most fertile region of the earth. As it very rarely rains in lower Egypt, the annual overflow of the river was a most important event; and was celebrated with religious ceremonies. The Nile itself was regarded as a deity, as the river Ganges now is, by the Hindoos. No doubt, many of the ancient Egyptian inscriptions had reference to the Nile.

§ 121. Geometry sprang from this river. The annual inundation effaced all landmarks, and when the waters fell, mensuration and partition, were indispensable to appropriate the lands, to the several castes, to respective individuals, and to public uses. Here are discerned the elements of a science, which the Greeks carried to perfection. The valley of the Nile was the highway of commerce between India, Ethiôpia, and western Asia; no small part of Arabian commerce took this route. The Egyptians made respectable proficiency in the arts. They are supposed to have used polished marble, to have made stained glass, to have manufactured linen, and to have dyed woollen fabrics, with lasting and beautiful colours. They manufactured a material to write upon, from a vegetable substance, or plant, called papyrus, whence paper. The Greeks called this *biblos*, whence (from being used in writing the scriptures) the name *Bible*, is supposed to be derived.

§ 122. *Religion*. This has a most intimate connection with poetical and rhetorical learning of the present day. Religion is the natural sentiment of the human mind. The veriest savage, who has done nothing to elevate himself above his first condition, has sense enough to perceive, that the return of day and night, and of the seasons, and that life and death, depend on some cause unseen, and unapproachable by him. Reverence and fear of this hidden authority, arise in his mind. He brings home his perception of its existence, to his own senses, by symbols, to which he renders his adoration, and which he strives to influence and propitiate, as though they had wants and passions like his own. In a more advanced state, he raises temples to his imaginary deities, and places there the very figures of their being,

and adorns them with emblems of authority. To these he offers his sacrifices, acknowledges his dependence, and renders his homage. Such originally, was not Egyptian religion. The first wanderers into India may have carried thither, from the foot of Mount Ararat the knowledge of God.

§ 123. But as all things with which man deals become better or worse, under his hands, that knowledge may have soon become debased by monstrous fables, invented by priests, as being among the means of holding the multitude in subjection. Before this debasement occurred, Egypt was (probably) peopled from India; for the indefatigable Champollion has deciphered an inscription, on an Egyptian temple to mean; *'I am all that has been, all that is, and all that will be. No mortal has ever raised the veil which conceals me; and the fruit I have produced is the sun.'* This is nearly the same sentiment which the devout Hebrews entertained of the deity. If such was the religious sentiment of Egypt, it soon degenerated into earthly symbols, embracing all the varied agency of the over-ruling and governing power. They created deities. They peopled the regions of imagination with them. They assigned them duties in all occurrences of the natural world, in all the vicissitudes of human life, and in the changes consequent on death. Their deities had names, temples, splendid ceremonies, and awful mysteries. Soon these fanciful beings were represented by earthly objects, and the final degradation was, to worship the animal, and even the vegetable emblems, which their absurd religion had consecrated. It is difficult to say, whether human condition is most pitiable when struggling in darkness on the confines of barbarism, or when shrouded in that darkness which surrounds it when the light of reason is extinguished.

§ 124. We are told by Herodotus, 'Egypt has certainly communicated to Greece the names of almost all the gods. The names of Neptune; and the Dioscuri, I mentioned before; with these, if we except Juno, Vesta, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids, the names of all the other deities have always been familiar in Egypt.' As we must renew our acquaintance with these divinities, when we visit Greece, we shall stop here only to mention some of the peculiarities of Egyptian worship

and belief. It was believed that the soul departed from the dead, to inhabit some common animal; and after transmigration through all the terrestrial, aquatic, and winged tribes, to expiate the sins of life, it returned to take up its abode in the human form again. It may not be an extravagant supposition, that the preservation of the body by embalming was intended to enable the soul to resume its former tenement. But this is not consistent with the practice of embalming sacred oxen, and crocodiles. Pythagoras respected this theory of transmigration; and it appears under the high sanction of his authority, by the name of metempsychosis in Grecian philosophy. Among the number of sacred animals, was a bird (resembling the crane) called the *ibis*. The destruction of this bird, as well as of some animals, was a crime punishable with death. At length, almost all animals, birds, and fishes, and even leeks and onions, were objects of worship. When a cat died in any house, the family mourned, and shaved off the eyebrows in sorrow for the loss. The worship of animals is a striking indication of Indian origin. Even to this day, there is a long list of sacred animals, in that country, including apes, dogs, and jackals. As to vegetable worship, the lotos holds a distinguished place in Hindoo mythology, as it did in that of Egypt.

§ 125. The phenix was among the sacred birds. Herodotus says he did not see one, but saw a picture of this bird, and that it was, in form, like the eagle, with crimson and gold plumage. He was told by the priests, that once in five hundred years, it came from Arabia, bearing a ball of myrrh, which contained the body of its parent, and that it came to perform funeral honours at the temple of the sun. Other accounts say, that this ball of myrrh, was its own funeral pile; and that the bird put fire to the ball, and placing himself thereon, was consumed, but arose again from his own ashes, for a new term of life. This fable is thought to be an allegory, intended to illustrate the reproductive power of nature. It has been remarked, that when Cambyzes invaded Egypt, he covered the front of his army with animals held sacred in Egypt, against which no Egyptian could raise a hostile weapon.

§ 126. *Edifices*. The ruins of structures in Egypt are

objects of wonder at the present day. They are such now, as to satisfy the modern visitors of that country, that Herodotus stated the truth, as to what he *saw*. These are, among others, the pyramids, forty in number, in three different groups. The largest is thought to be seven hundred feet square at the base, and six hundred feet high. On the top of this, is a square of fourteen feet, whereon a party of officers, of Napoleon's army, dined, in 1798. By whom were the pyramids built? At what time, and for what purpose, were they built? We have seen many fables, and numerous conjectures, but not any satisfactory answer to such questions. The largest is the highest structure ever raised by human hands. They are situated about seven miles from the site of ancient Memphis, and westwardly from the Nile. The sphynx is made out of the stone, on which it reposes, and is near the great pyramid, fronting the east. It has the head and bust of a woman, the legs, claws, and body of a lion, and the wings of a bird, all wrought from the same solid stone, except the fore-legs and claws. Pliny, a Roman visitor 2000 years ago, says, the head was one hundred and two feet in circumference; the top of the head sixty-two feet from the plane on which the body lies; the body one hundred and forty-three feet long. It is now buried up to the back in the sand. There is no satisfactory conjecture, even, as to the object of this astonishing piece of sculpture. Herodotus speaks with admiration of the labyrinth, which may have been constructed when Egypt was under the twelve governors, from the twelve halls, and the number and construction of the apartments. There were fifteen hundred apartments above ground, and as many below, all of marble. Herodotus says he did not see the lower apartments; and was denied entrance, because the sacred crocodiles were there entombed. The labyrinth was about twelve miles south-westwardly of Memphis, and near the lake Mœris, which was of artificial construction, and which seemed to have been more an object of wonder, to this Grecian visitor, than the labyrinth.

§ 127. The ruins of Thebes, about three hundred and fifty miles higher up the Nile, have peculiarly attracted the attention of modern travellers. They are remnants of temples, and excavations in the granite mountains on each

side of the plain, on which this city stood. Denon, who accompanied Napoleon to Egypt, says — that on coming in view of Thebes, ‘the whole army suddenly, and with one accord, stood in amazement, at the sight of its scattered ruins, and clapped their hands with delight, as though the end and object of their glorious toils, and the complete conquest of Egypt were secured, by taking possession of the ruins of this ancient metropolis.’

As one more indication of Indian origin, we may mention the town of Elora, in Hindostan, two hundred and sixty miles from Bombay, six hundred and fifty from Madras, and one thousand from Calcutta. It is situated in a chain of mountains composed of reddish granite, and made by excavating the solid rock. The town is about two leagues in circumference. It is truly a *granite* city. It contains temples one hundred feet high, one hundred and forty-five feet long, sixty-two feet wide. These temples contain thousands of figures, formed by removing the surrounding rock. When, or by whom, this city was constructed, no history, no tradition tells. The sphynx is a common figure of ornament, in India. Compare these facts with the granite structures on the Nile.

§ 128. *Oases*. — These are sometimes alluded to, in poetical and oratorical compositions, and may be briefly noticed, in connection with Egypt. Westwardly from the range of mountains on the west side of the Nile, and about one hundred miles distant, is another parallel range of mountains; and fifty miles west of these, is the range of oases, in the line of north and south. Oasis, in Coptic, is said to mean an inhabited place. These oases are verdant islands in an ocean of moving sand. The caravans which traverse the deserts, repose at these grateful spots, where are found abundant water, and refreshing shade, under date and palm trees. The most celebrated is that of Ammon, not in this range, but situated three hundred and fifty miles from Memphis, in a line a little south of west, and one hundred and eighty miles south from the Mediterranean; north lat. 29, east long. 26, in the route from the Nile, to Fezzan. Here was a temple dedicated to Jupiter Ammon, in which was a renowned oracle; and here was the fountain so celebrated by the poets; and well deserving celebrity if what

is said of it be true. Herodotus says, 'The Ammonians have a fountain of water, which at the dawn of morning is warm; as the day advances it chills; and at noon becomes excessively cold. As the day declines its coldness diminishes; at sun set, it is again warm; the warmth gradually increases till midnight, when it is absolutely in a boiling state.'

§ 129. This was a place of banishment from Egypt. It is said that the famous Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, was banished to this oasis, about the middle of the fourth century, and died there. It is also said, that though he was a fugitive in the sands of Lybia, he returned, and died tranquilly, in his bishopric, at Alexandria.

§ 130. Alexander the Great is said to have accomplished a perilous journey to the oasis of Ammon, to learn what the oracle had to say of him; and it is said that Jupiter acknowledged him as his own son. The respectable author, Rennell, (before mentioned) treats the visit itself, as an historical fact. It does not much concern the people of this day, whether Alexander went to Ammon, or not, or what the oracle said to him, if he did go. There seems to be no doubt, that Cambyzes, about two hundred years before Alexander's time, sent an army from Egypt to Ammon. All that is known of this army is, that it never reached Ammon, and never returned. It was conjectured, that a strong south wind threw over this army a mound of sand, and that no one escaped to tell of the disaster.

§ 131. The attractive objects of Egypt, have drawn us so far away from the train of historical events, it may be necessary to remind the reader that we take leave of Egypt for the present, at the time when Alexander took possession of it as conqueror, in the year of the world 3673, and three hundred and thirty-one years before the Christian era. We are now to cross to the north side of the Mediterranean, to take a rapid view of the Greeks, who rose into grandeur and renown, on the treasures which they drew from fallen Egypt.

CHAPTER XI.

Greece from the earliest times to the destruction of Troy, about 1180 years before the Christian era.

§ 132. GREECE is the only country, in all Europe, which has preserved its name, its language, and the same race of people, through all the revolutions of ages. If one would make a comparison or an illustration, or adduce a test, in the fine arts, in poetry, in eloquence, or in patriotism, he resorts to Greece. If science or art demands a new, a comprehensive, and an appropriate term, it is found in the language of Greece. Such had this celebrated country become, and so well was it entitled to be regarded as the oasis of Ammon, in the desert of social life, long before that light was shed upon the earth, which shows the true worth of all learning, science, and art.

§ 133. Greece was most favourably situated, to acquire and retain its eminent renown. As a whole it lies from northwest to southeast, within the 36th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and between the 20th and 24th of east longitude. Considered as two parts, the most northwardly one joins Macedonia on the north, is bounded on the west by the sea which separates it from Italy, on the east by the Archipelago, (a corrupted term from *Ægean* Sea,) and extending south-eastwardly from the Macedonian line to the extremity of Attica, it is two hundred and ten miles in length, and in average breadth less than one hundred. This part had three principal divisions (and many smaller ones,) called Epirus in the northwest, Thessaly in the northeast, and Hellas in the southeast. The second part called the Peloponnesus, (and now the Morea, from a Turkish term signifying the mulberry tree,) is bounded northwardly by the gulf of Corinth, westwardly by the Ionian Sea, southwardly by the Mediterranean, eastwardly by the *Ægean*, or Archipelago. It is joined to the first division by the isthmus of Corinth. Its length is one hundred and eighty miles, its average breadth is less than one hundred. Here are found celebrated names, Achaia, Elis, Mes-

senia, Argolis, Laconia, (of which the principal city was Sparta, or Lacedæmon;) and many subdivisions. If Macedonia be considered part of Greece, as in the close of Grecian history it should be, it nearly doubles the extent of Grecian territory. The seas around Greece abound in beautiful isles, which are included when speaking geographically of this country.

§ 134. To know how favourably this region was situated to attain distinction, one should place himself at the southern extremity of the Peloponnesus, facing the south; he would have due west on his right, the island of Sicily, distant 400 miles; due south the coast of Africa, distant 300 miles; southeast the island of Crete (now Candia,) distant 100 miles; and, in the same course, the mouths of the Nile, distant 600 miles; further towards the east the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, with Tyre and Sidon, as part of Phœnicia, distant about 700 miles; due east, across the Ægean Sea, the western shore of Asia, distant 300 miles; and the same course would pass along the southern shore of Asia Minor, and near the isle of Cyprus, which is about 100 miles from the northeast corner of the Mediterranean, and near that corner were the cities of Tarsus and Antioch. Northeast, across the Ægean, on the west coast of Asia Minor, was Troy, distant 300 miles. No region of the earth could be more favourable to the natural qualities of the human race, whether physical or intellectual, than Greece. Though situated in what the people of the United States may distinguish as far southern climes, it was, and is, a grateful place of abode, since the winds that blow over it, are tempered by surrounding seas, on all sides but on the north.

§ 135. Whence came the Greeks? The traditions of all rude people are to be received with caution. Those of early Greece are to be seen through mists illumined by the dazzling light of poetry. The gods introduced from Egypt were so mingled with what may, or may not, have had some colouring of fact, that all became fable; and nothing was needed to make of the whole a mere vision, but to claim for the Greeks, a lineal descent from the gods. This polishing touch the poets imparted. Leaving these fanciful regions for something certain, as far as it goes, we are told in Genesis x, that these were

‘the sons of Javan ; (son of Shem) Elisha, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim ; by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands ; every one after his tongue, in their nations.’ Javan is thought to have been the progenitor of the Ionians ; from Elisha is deduced Elis, or Hellas, whence Hellenists ; Kittim is thought to be Cyprus, and Dodanim, or Rhodanim, Rhodes. These are only conjectures on the meaning of scriptural history. It seems to be assumed, that in the earliest time there were shepherds and hunters in Greece, who must have come thither by the north side of the Black Sea, by Asia Minor, or the Mediterranean, but whether they came by the one way, or the other, it is now as useless, as impossible to know.

136. Grecian history is usually divided into epochs. The first is called the fabulous or heroic age, from the first settlement, (whensoever that may have been,) down to the year of the world 2820, or 1180 years before the Christian era, ending with the taking of Troy. We propose to follow this beaten track, but in a rapid course, stopping only to read inscriptions on enduring monuments, rather than to study them.

§ 137. We will suppose all probable invasions, whether by savages, or wild beasts ; and all the revengeful wars, and barbarous practices incident to a rude people. There were many immigrations from Egypt and Phœnicia, and probably from Asia Minor. With these came the knowledge of the Egyptian deities ; and it is said with Cadmus from Phœnicia, came sixteen letters of the alphabet, to which eight more were added in Greece. After the usual quantity of hard fighting, and its consequences, Greece seems to have been divided among distinct tribes or communities, and among these there was established a council by the name of *Amphictyonic*, composed of deputies from states, whose authority extended to all questions of general interest. What gave rise to this council, its precise powers, and when it began, are unknown. It is probably the first instance of a legislative or judicial authority, applied to independent states, collectively. The only other event which is of a nature to interest the present day, is the Argonautic expedition undertaken by Jason and his associates from Argolis, in the southern part of the Peloponnesus, to Colchis, at the

southeastern part of the Black Sea, to obtain the golden fleece. This adventure was conducted by Jason in a ship called the Argo. The only knowledge now had of it, is through the poets, who have probably done no more than to adorn a common heroic, (or piratical) expedition, with the imagery in which they deal.

§ 138. The religion of the Greeks is a much more interesting subject, connected as it is, with the elegant literature of the present day. The mythology (a word used to signify religious fables) of the Greeks, came from Egypt. The gods and goddesses, and their origin, and powers, names and all, came originally, from the priests of that country. It is not improbable that Phœnicia made some contributions to the original stock. But as the Greeks became nationalized, and their own genius and inventive powers were devoted to mythology, the number of their deities increased to the number of 30,000. Soon after the close of the first epoch, Hesiod, said to be cotemporary with Homer, wrote a poem in which he gives the genealogy of these divinities, who are found busily engaged throughout earth, sea, and skies; and in every vicissitude of human life; and in all the imagined consequences of death.

§ 139. Two circumstances may have aided in making this comprehensive religious invention; the one was the peculiar character of the Greeks; and the other, the peculiarity of their country, in which the mountains were high enough for deities to dwell upon; their fountains and streams pure enough for divinities to sport in; their grottos, caverns, and rocky recesses, awful enough to be the abodes of authority which could order human destiny. Thus mount Olympus was the home of Jupiter and of the twelve principal deities of his family. The range of mountains, in which Olympus appears, runs west and east, separating Thessaly from Macedonia. It is the highest range in Europe except the Alps. Below its lofty summits the lightning flashed, and thunders rolled; and at brilliant noon its heights seemed to rise far towards the fountain of day.

§ 140. This was deemed the proper residence of celestials on earth. On Olympus Jupiter held his court, and along the neighbouring summits the immediate

members of his family resided.* From these elevations the divinities descended to the dwellings of men, to afford protection, punish impiety, or gratify their own passions. The Olympian range was not the exclusive abode of the principal deities. They had other favourite resorts, and even accepted, as dwelling places, the temples which the piety of mortals raised to render them due honour. From the visits of these divinities, of both sexes, to favoured mortals, sprang that race of demigods (or heroes) who figure in the fabulous age. Among these was Hercules, a personage as well known, in these days, as he was in Greece. His achievements are numerous and truly heroic.

§ 141. It is enough to show the interest of the present day in Grecian mythology, that students, whether they spend their hours of study on poetry, or prose, on subjects of religion, policy, war, or philosophy, are sure to find something of these deities in all that is sought to be known. The sacred nine are annually invoked in all the scientific institutions of Europe and America. It would detract nothing from the solemnity of the invocation to know, that the nine were originally only a band of songsters who constituted part of the retinue of a royal lover of music; for poetry has long hallowed their divine vocation, and established an empire for them which no one would be impious enough to dispute. Many of these delightful visions would melt away if one knew of what elements they were composed. It is justly due, however, to the heroic age to say, that there was then, none of the absurd idolatry which disgraced cotemporaneous nations; and that there was a loftier sense of morality, founded in the fear of the gods, than was manifested in after ages, by the same people, when they became more refined. It is probable that they had oracles in these early days, but their supremacy belongs to a later period.

§ 142. It is deeply to be regretted that the indispensable acquisition of the Greek and Latin languages, has been commonly made through diligent study of fables

* A *Latin poet* enumerates the celestial family in these two lines.
Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovì, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

little suited to the purity of youthful minds. There are purified editions of the Greek and Latin classics, which must be familiarly known to qualify a youth to be received into any college. But there are still many passages retained, which a preceptor would blush to construe and explain to his pupil. The world, at this day, would be none the worse, if the works of Ovid had not come down to us.

§ 143. The religious opinions and practices of the Greeks are not the only objects of curiosity and interest; their music, architecture, eloquence, and language, which had shown themselves, even in the heroic ages, are subjects of real interest. Their language, especially, deserves some notice. Before the end of the heroic age it approached near to the perfection which it afterwards acquired, by being familiarly written. The learned say of it, that it is of all languages the most copious, best constructed, most impressive, yet the sweetest, and most powerful. It was probably drawn from many sources, around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and even further east. But it was moulded and adapted to express all the wants, passions, duties and pleasures of an enthusiastic and aspiring people. It is said to resemble the Sanscrit of India, which is probably among the oldest languages of the world. It is the opinion of a German writer, (already mentioned) that the Greek and German languages are modifications of some far more ancient language, and that the Latin has the like origin.

§ 144. The causes which led to Grecian distinction, may not be obvious at this far distant time. It may be, that climate, the peculiar territory in which the Greeks dwelt, and their division into small, jealous, and rival communities, had some influence on results in the early ages. The concluding event in this epoch, is the war waged against Troy. This has been associated with the literature of all well informed modern nations, through the imperishable poems of Homer. If the occurrences of this war had not been distinguished by this mode of narration, they would have held no higher rank than that which belongs to the wars of the square in Asia, of the same age of the world. But, so narrated, these events may have been among the impulses which led to

the distinction of Greece. This comes more fully into view in the next historical division.

§ 145. In the further consideration of Grecian affairs, no time will be wasted on military exploits, nor on the common course of tumult, insurrection, and revolution, by which one man was put down, and another substituted. A battle is the same thing, in substance, in all ages, and among all people, with the exceptions which military men, only, can appreciate. Political changes spring up every where from like passions, and desires; and any one of them contains the elements of all others. There are, however, some battles, and some revolutions, which have affected the general welfare of the human family, and these cannot be passed without observation.

§ 146. The two poems attributed to Homer, are the *Iliad*, (from *Ilium*, another name for *Troy*) and the *Odyssey*, comprising the adventures of *Ulysses*, one of the Grecian chiefs, after *Troy* had been taken. The first of these poems is an important material in historical compilations. It will be convenient to fix the time of the siege of *Troy*, relatively to cotemporaneous persons, and events, in the square of *Asia*, and in *Egypt*. If the ten years' siege ended with the sack and conflagration of *Troy*, in the year of the world 2820, and 1180 before the Christian era, this was thirty-two years before *Samuel* was born, and while *Israel* was governed by judges, and ninety-nine years before the birth of *David*; and more than a century before the wars between the *Assyrians* and *Egyptians* began.

§ 147. How far are the facts stated in the *Iliad* to be received as true history? Probably they have the like relation to the truth, which *Sir Walter Scott's* novels have to history; or which pastoral life has, when described by poets, to the tedious labour of tending flocks. Yet this poem is instructive as to facts. It is doubtful whether it was the work of one man; it is even doubtful whether there was such a person as *Homer*; and if there were, it is uncertain when or where he lived or died. It is generally supposed that he did not live earlier than from two to four centuries after the events which have given him a glorious memory; but *Dr Gillies* (*History of Greece*) assumes that he lived within eighty years of that time. The impression left, on a diligent examin-

ation of many of the materials out of which the truth is to be drawn, is this: The Greeks like other rude nations had bards, who sang the story of public events. They were received in palaces, at public meetings, at celebrations, and were *chroniclers*, and their memories the only place of record. From such sources Homer derived his knowledge; and whether he only repeated what he heard, or embellished, or invented, are questions on which critics have exhausted their ingenuity.

§ 148. Doubtless at the commencement of the Trojan war, Greece was divided into small kingdoms or states. In that called Laconia, in the city of Sparta, lived king Menelaus, whose wife was Helen, the daughter of Tyn-darus. While Menelaus was on a visit to the island of Crete, Paris came from Troy to the court of Menelaus. He is described as the handsomest man of the age. At the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the gods and goddesses were among the guests; and the goddess of Discord, Eris, threw among the company a golden apple on which was inscribed, 'to the fairest' (*detur pulchriori*). Juno, Venus, and Minerva contended for the apple, Paris was chosen arbiter. Juno promised him a kingdom, Minerva military glory, and Venus the fairest woman of the earth, as a wife. Venus was declared entitled; and from this cause, influenced, in its consequences, by the malice of Juno and Minerva, came the woes of Troy. From this fable also comes 'the apple of discord.' Helen was the promised reward. She, of course, became enamoured of the handsome Paris, and eloped with him, and went to Troy.

§ 149. The enraged husband of Helen roused all the states and kingdoms of Greece, to avenge his wrongs; and an army of 102,000 men, borne in many ships, repaired to the Trojan coast. The scene of the poem is on the plains around Troy. This city was finally subdued by the stratagem of making a wooden horse, which was hollow, and capacious enough to hold many armed men. The Greeks having retired, leaving the horse on the plain, the Trojans supposing them to have abandoned the siege, drew the horse into the city. In the night, the Greeks descended from their concealment, and threw open the gates, to the returning army. This fable is often used in modern eloquence. Troy being laid in ash-

es and Menelaus avenged, contentions arose among the Greeks, who divided into two great parties, and from this source comes the second poem, (the Odyssey) which divides the critics more extensively, than the Greeks are therein represented to have been divided among themselves. That which is pertinent to the present purpose, is, the disclosure of genealogy, geography, political divisions, religious belief, and ceremonies, as well as the manners and customs of the Greeks. All which reduced to common sense shows, that this remarkable people were superstitiously religious, rude and valiant warriors, sensitive, enthusiastic, and eloquent, and fit elements out of which to form their eminent distinction attained to in subsequent ages.

CHAPTER XII.

Causes of Grecian eminence, after the siege of Troy. Effect of Olympic games.

§ 150. WHEN such of the warriors as survived the Trojan war, and survived also the disasters following that event, returned to Greece, they had new difficulties to encounter, in the distracted state of things which their long absence had occasioned. During the next four hundred years, the Grecians seem to have been tormented with controversies, and desolating wars among themselves. Their history, so far as it is known, presents nothing material to be noticed, in this general sketch, but this: Numerous colonies appear to have left Greece within this time. These colonies were established on the western shores of the Black Sea; on the opposite shore of Asia Minor, where flourished the Eolians, next southwardly of Troy, the Ionians south of them, (around modern Smyrna,) and the Dorians south of these, down to the southern shore of Asia Minor. Colonies were established on the opposite coast of Africa, and on the eastern shore of Italy, in Sicily, and probably even as far west as the eastern shore of Spain, where it is said there are to the present day customs of Grecian origin. The Asiatic colonies, availing themselves of peace and tranquillity for a long time, and of the beautiful region which they inhabited, are supposed to have made advances in refinement, and to have improved their language, and to have established some of the dialects which were afterwards found in Grecian literature. Distinguished historians, poets, and philosophers are supposed to have been born in these colonies. Eastwardly of them was the kingdom of Lydia, with the kings of which most of the early wars arose. About seventy miles east of Smyrna was Sardis, (which there will be occasion to mention hereafter,) the capital of Lydia. This was the place of abode of Cræsus, whose wealth has become a proverb.

§ 151. That space of time in which those persons lived, and in which those events occurred which have given to Greece its remarkable celebrity, will be found in the three hundred and fifty years next after the seven hundred and seventy-sixth year before the Christian era. The next object is to point out these persons, and events, and the causes of this celebrity. In defining these causes, the national character of the Greeks, derived from climate, numerous and independent communities, language, war, music, poetry, and eloquence, must not be overlooked. It may be supposed that such a people were well qualified to rise to their well known eminence, if any competent impulse were given to them. It is believed that this impulse was found in the Olympic games; and that the acts of one man, or at most of two men, revived and applied them to improving the manners and customs of the Greeks. All the consequences may not have been foreseen; but they seem to be naturally referable to this great national institution. The Olympic games were not then new. They were first instituted by Hercules, whosoever may be intended by that name; but they had long been discontinued.

§ 152. The Amphictyonic council, or meeting of national delegates, appears to have survived all the revolutions of Greece. Its place of meeting in the spring, was at Delphi; and in the autumn at Thermopylae. The former is supposed to have been so named, from its having been originally solitary. It is situated mid-way of Greece, N. lat. $38\frac{1}{2}$, twenty miles north of the Crisseus gulf, which is part of that of Corinth, and at the southern extremity of Mount Parnassus. Here was a cavern from which arose a sulphurous gas, which was supposed to be capable of inspiring those who breathed it, with religious zeal, and the power of prophecy. Around this cavern was the city of Delphi, in the deep recess of the mountains. At an early and unknown period, the priestly contrivance of the oracle, had been imported from Egypt, and this mysterious spot chosen for its seat of empire. This venerated authority was under the guardianship of the Amphictyons, and Delphi was almost exclusively inhabited by the ministers of the Delphic oracle, sacred to Apollo. The predictions and responses were delivered by a person (usually a female selected by the

priests) who was seated on a stool with three feet, and thence called the tripod. This sacred seat makes a conspicuous figure in Grecian annals.

§ 153. Any person might consult the oracle, on conforming to prescribed rules. He was required to present a valuable gift to the god; and to reside a number of days at Delphi, before he was allowed to propose his questions. A favourable time must be sought, and improved. The response was to be deemed *conclusive*, and however ambiguous, no explanation could be sought. It is a humiliating proof of human credulity, that such a power as that of the Delphic Apollo, should have continued to govern, absolutely, for many ages, so intelligent a people as the Greeks. It is still more humiliating to assume, that the ministers of Apollo were sincere, and really believed the responses to come from Apollo himself. It is rather to be believed, that this was one among the many instances in which a few men, by assumptions and mysteries, have been enabled to exercise an absolute dominion over their fellow-men. In after ages, when the veil was rent, it proved to be only this: That while the visitor remained at Delphi, the inquisitive priests discerned all that was material to their purpose; that the Pythia, who was an ignorant female, was so placed as to be affected by the gaseous fumes, and that when she was excited to the utterance of sounds, the priests, who surrounded her, wrote down what they called responses, and then compared and translated them, to suit the occasion; the suffering Pythia being as ignorant of what she had uttered, in her ravings, as the three legged stool on which she sat. There were several such oracles in Greece, but this was the most authoritative. One would suppose that the intelligent men of this nation must have understood the true character of this invention. Yet the most eminent, as well as the most insignificant, seem to have had the most implicit confidence in the divinity of oracular sayings. It was common for persons of other nations to come and consult Apollo at Delphi.

§ 154. It was with the approbation of the oracle of Delphi, that the Olympic games were renewed. It is said that Iphetus, king of Elis, was the person who consulted the oracle, about seven hundred and seventy-six years A. C. concerning the renewal of these games; and that

he did this by the advice of Lycurgus, of Sparta. Of this distinguished person (Lycurgus) it is said, that he spent ten years in travelling from place to place to acquire knowledge, which might be profitably used in healing the dissensions of Greece, and in uniting them for their common good. He is supposed to have visited Crete, Egypt, Phœnicia, and all Asia Minor. In the Ionian colony he found the scattered parts of Homer's poems, (long forgotten, in the Peloponnesus) and collected, transcribed, arranged, and carried them home to Sparta. It may have been this labour which suggested the utility of renewing the games, as similar exhibitions are referred to, by this poet.

§ 155. The priests of Apollo responded that the games annually celebrated at Olympia, on the river Alpheus, in Elis, must be renewed. Olympia was on the western side of the Peloponnesus, a very little south of N. lat. 38, and about five miles from the shore of the Ionian sea, which lies west on the same line of latitude. Here was a splendid temple dedicated to Jupiter Olympus, and within was a statue of that god, composed of gold and ivory, and of such awful magnificence, that all Grecians supposed that they would have lived in vain if they should die without having seen it. This was the work of Phidias, of Athens; an ornament added to the temple probably about 450 B. C. Being asked how he intended to represent Jupiter, he is said to have answered by repeating some lines of Homer, which are thus translated by Pope:

This said, his kingly brow the sire inclined,
The large black curls fell awful from behind,
Thick shadowing the stern forehead of the god;
Olympus trembled at the Almighty nod.

The figure was that of a person *sixty* feet in height, seated on a throne, and principally composed of ivory, diversified with gold, and precious stones, and with a great variety of mythological sculpture. One sees in this specimen of art, the Egyptian origin of things in Greece; on part of the throne were carved sphynxes devouring the Theban children, an unquestionable importation from the Nile.

§ 156. We have not space to describe the games, which consisted of well known athletic contests,* and of chariot races, all of which were conducted with great solemnity, and with religious rites and sacrifices. It is the effect, and not the games, which deserves consideration. All persons of Grecian descent, might be competitors for the crown of olive, if qualified by training, and proved to be of worthy character. Whatever wars may have raged in Greece, they were suspended for a term before, during, and after the games, which continued five days, in the month of July, in every fourth year. The place of exhibition was an oblong square, from the sides of which there were ascending seats, adapted to the accommodation of an immense multitude. This celebration caused to assemble, not only spectators from Greece, but from all the isles, and colonies. It was not only a place wherein athletic skill could be displayed, but hither came the excellent in history, poetry, eloquence, sculpture, and music. Here the illustrious deeds of Greece were recounted; Herodotus read the history of his travels; and bards recited the verse of Homer. Here Pindar of Thebes sung his inspiring odes. To him the Greeks raised an honourable monument; and when, two hundred years afterwards, Alexander the Great demolished Thebes, he spared the house in which Pindar had dwelt. The victors received immortal honours. Females were not admitted to behold these games; but at length their claims were regarded; and they also had their contests for swiftness of foot, poetry, and music, and the crowned were permitted to hang their pictures in the temple of Jupiter.

§ 157. To understand the effect of the Olympic games on the Greeks, it must be remembered, that the most exciting motives of the human mind were called into full action. The Greeks were a community of rival nations. The victors did not triumph over competitors of their own nation only, but over all these nations. The crown of olive was awarded to the most excellent, in those powers of body and mind which all desired, admired, and envied. The victory was gained in the presence of the

* The best description of the games, of the temples, and statues, at Olympia, may be that contained in the xxxviiiith chap. of 'Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis, en Grèce,' (vol. 3, p. 469.)

most eminent men who dwelt throughout all the regions which bore the name of Grecian. The competition was among common citizens, nobles, princes, and kings, who were reduced to one level, and distinguished only by personal merit. It was at the same time a religious worship. The prizes were contended for in the very presence of Jupiter; and the crowns of conquest were awarded in his own temple, and almost by his own hand. The splendour of this temple, the majesty of this awful Jupiter, the solemn music, the vast multitude, the purpose of the assembly, to declare who, among all that contended, was most excellent, and to bestow on him a fame, which would make his city and his country proud of him, and his own name immortal, are exciting causes founded in the very nature of man.

§ 158. It was no uncommon thing to distinguish an Olympiad, by the name of the pre-eminent victor; and to give him a correspondent distinction wherever he appeared. It is said that the memorable Dionysius, (tyrant of Syracuse,) considered the rejection of his poem, at Olympia, the most intolerable mortification of his life. The haughty Philip of Macedon was a competitor in the chariot races; and on the same day in which he received the crown of olive, he also received the news, that one of his generals had vanquished the Illyrians, and that his son Alexander was born. The olive crown was more welcome than either of the other events. A more touching instance of the influence of these games, is found in the story of Diagoras, of the Island of Rhodes. He was then old. He had been formerly crowned in the temple of Jupiter. He came now to witness the efforts of his two sons. Both were victors. When they were crowned, they bore their father around the stadium on their shoulders, to show him to the assembled Greeks; when some one cried out, 'Die, Diagoras! for why should you live longer!' And such was his fate; he there died in the arms of his sons, bathed with their tears.

§ 159. The influence of these games on Grecian character, whether considered in a religious, national, intellectual, or military view, cannot be doubted. To these more than to all other causes combined, must be attributed the distinction and eminence, which this people acquired, in comparison with all others of ancient days.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of Sparta, (or Lacedæmon) chief City of Laconia, in the Peloponnesus.

§ 160. THE revolution which Lycurgus effected in Laconia, (the middle one of the principal states of the Peloponnesus) is an event which stands alone in the history of men. This event occurred about 890 years B. C. It had no example, and has not been imitated. There is no more reason for doubting the truth of historical statements, concerning Lycurgus and his achievements, than there is for doubting the truth of any others of equal antiquity. Yet it is hardly credible, that any man should have supposed it possible to turn all the strong motives to human action, into channels never before known; less credible, that he should have been entirely successful in his purpose. He could not have been successful, if he had not received the full approbation of Apollo at Delphi. It is said that the female who sat on the tripod, and whose official name was the Pythia, hesitated whether to call him a god, or a man; addressed him with profound respect, and promised him all necessary aid and counsel. At this time, the king of Lacedæmon was despotic. Lycurgus preserved royal authority, but abolished despotism. He gained the nobles by raising them to the dignity of counsellors, with the prescribed duty of considering and approving laws; and he commanded the veneration of the people, by making them the final legislative authority, with power to confirm or reject, the acts of the nobles. So far, his measures seem practicable; at least, there seem to be inducements enough for the concurrence of the interested parties.

§ 161. We come next to a new feature in government, the establishment of a council of five, annually elected, called the *Ephori*, (overseers or inspectors) whose high prerogative it was, to hold the king, nobles, and the people themselves, to the close observance of the established

constitution. This provision can be reconciled to reasonable motives. But there is cause for admiring the conception and execution of a scheme, which made all the property of the country one common stock; an equal division of all its products; the establishment of a common and frugal table, where all fared alike; the total abolition of commerce, of gold, silver, and riches, and the substitution of iron money; the banishment of all mechanical employments among citizens; and the extinction of the strongest of all feelings, those of parental affection, by making all the children the property of the republic, and by vesting in every citizen an equal authority over all of them. One would, at first, suppose that such an order of things would necessarily cause idleness, combinations, tumults, and revolution. But this wonderful lawgiver assigned to the slaves, who were common property, all the labour of providing the food, and supplying the simple wants of the people, while he kept all the subjects of the republic, of whatsoever age or sex, busily engaged in preparations for war, in gymnastic exercises, in conversation, in debating, in religious ceremonies, and elevating amusements. For the first time, we believe, in the history of Greece, the female sex was raised to its proper dignity, and permitted to exercise its chastening authority. Mothers became the guardians and instructors of their own children, until these were worthy of the honour of being adopted by the republic.

§ 162. It is less difficult to suppose that such a state of society might continue, than that it might begin. The renown of Lacedæmon might soon become a common bond. The terror, and the admiration of surrounding communities, in relation to this which had assumed a commanding superiority, were not new causes of union among those who were so admired and feared. It is admitted, that the Lacedæmonians (more commonly called Spartans, from the name of their chief city) far excelled all other Grecians in the arts of war. Their movements in numerous bodies were as rapid and skilful as those of modern times. They had one excitement of which most modern soldiers are ignorant, they went into battle with the devotion of sincere piety. Historians relate, that on the day of battle, the king rose before the

dawn, to propitiate the gods by prayer and sacrifice ; that the Spartans approached the enemy with cheerful aspect, and manly grace, their long hair arranged with simple elegance ; their nodding plumes, their scarlet dress, and brazen armour, shedding a dazzling lustre around them. At the moment of conflict, the king offered his holy sacrifices again, and, under the impulse of exhilarating music, the steady Spartans moved to the highest glory which (as it seemed to them) the gods allow to men, that of vaunting over a fallen foe.

§ 163. Of the first hundred years from the new order of Lycurgus, sixty were spent in a cruel and desolating warfare between the Spartans and Messenians, who were situated on the western side of the Peloponnesus. The remnant of Messenians withdrew, and settled in Sicily, where the name still remains. There is hardly a fact or person in these hundred years worth remembering, except a Messenian general named Aristomenes. This person appears on all occasions, in an honourable point of view ; and it is said that he needed only a Homer to give him an equality with any hero who is known through the verse of this illustrious bard.

The other wars of the Spartans were carried on against Argolis, (which was on the eastern side of the Peloponnesus) until the general history of Greece is mingled with that of Athens.

§ 164. It must be admitted, that the Spartans were physically, and intellectually, a noble race of men ; the most so that men could be in that age of the world. It is in their own age, and in comparison with other Greeks, that they are to be commended. For the present age, there is nothing to respect in their qualities ; nor would any one desire to see, in his own nation, the feelings and the motives which reigned in Sparta. Perhaps the whole theory of Lycurgus, reduced to its elements, may be this : that he took away all motives to action at home, which tended to any purpose but that of being able to serve the republic ; and made that service to consist in successful defence against all assailing enemies, and in the power to vanquish all whom the Spartans chose to attack. If this be so, this remarkable people, as examples for modern times, have had their full share of admiration.

§ 165. It would be an amusing speculation to imagine,

what such a republic as that of Lacedæmon would eventually prove to be. Would the king, the nobles, or the people, acquire disproportionate power, and destroy the balance? Or, through what avenue would debasement approach, and present the common catastrophe of despotism arising from anarchy, or from gradual increase of power in legitimate rulers? It came in neither way to this people. They long maintained their honourable superiority. Their downfall came at last from their own successes. They conquered, they became rich in spoils and slaves. Though individually they had nothing of their own, collectively they had enough to corrupt and debase. The Ephori, being the presiding officers in public assemblies, vested with the authority of declaring war, and of making peace, of treating with foreign powers, determining the number of the forces, and the funds from which they should be paid; of distributing rewards and punishments, of regulating education, and slavery, and of administering justice, gradually drew all power into their own hands. Thus the very authority established by annual popular election to preserve the balance among all authorities, absorbed the whole.* The great principle which distinguishes the American republics from all others is, — the complete separation of the legislative, judicial, and executive powers from each other. So long as this separation is preserved, our republics may continue. It is encouraging to perceive that all conflicts, hitherto, tend the more strongly to establish this principle.

§ 166. Though the purity of Lycurgus's system was corrupted, the Lacedæmonians continued to preserve their martial character, until a very late period of their history. At last they sunk, in common with so many other nations, first under the dominion of Philip of Macedonia and his son Alexander, and then under the universal empire of Rome. We shall here leave the Spartans, to visit Athens. In the varieties of fortune which visited the Athenians, all that is worthy of further notice in Spartan history, will find its place.

* The establishment of the Ephori is attributed to Lycurgus by Herodotus and Xenophon; but Plutarch and Aristotle attribute it to Theopompus, a king of Sparta, one hundred and thirty years before the time of Lycurgus.

CHAPTER XIV.

Athens.

§ 167. ATHENS is supposed to have been founded 1550 years before the Christian era, by Cecrops, the leader of a colony from Egypt.* It still exists by the same name of Athens, with some scattered remnants of ancient magnificence. It consisted of two parts, the Acropolis, (meaning city on the summit) situated on a rocky elevation, *in* a plain, and of the lower city *on* the plain. The Acropolis was about seven miles in circuit. The lower city was of different extents, at different periods. Athens is four miles northeast from the shore of the Saronic gulf, which lies between Attica and the Peloponnesus, and near two small rivers, the Cephissus and the Illissus, in north latitude, a little south of 38. It is 35 miles east of the east end of the Corinthian gulf, 80 southeast from Delphi, and 35 miles northwest of the south point of Attica. The territory is said to be sterile naturally.

§ 168. There were twelve cities in Attica, including Athens. Its government was royal in the beginning. Plutarch gives, under the biography of Theseus, an account of the reformation of the government by this prince, probably true in part, and fabulous in part. All the early ages deserve little notice. There are discontents and wars, with men and beasts. The royal government was succeeded by a species of republic, in which archons were the chiefs. To remedy a state of anarchy, the Athenians conferred on Draco, an absolute authority; by him, laws highly penal were enacted. Idleness was punished with death. He thought the least crime should be so dealt with, and that there was no penalty severer for the greatest. Hence we hear of allusions to laws written in blood. This event is said to have occurred about 620 years B. C., wherefore we are to look to a later period for Athenian celebrity.

* It was first called Cecropia, and afterwards Athens, from the Greek name (Athene) of Minerva.

§ 169. The laws of Draco could not be executed, and new dissensions arose. Solon was commissioned to establish order, about 595 B. C. He was one of the seven wise men of Greece, a descendant from an Athenian king called Codrus. His acts are related by Plutarch. He framed an admirable system of laws, and caused them to be engraved on wood. This is (we believe) the first instance of laws that may be called *written*, among the Greeks. The Areopagus, a court consisting of many, but an unknown number of members, was revived by him, and long maintained its judicial celebrity. It had also political authority, resembling that of the Ephori in Sparta. He abolished the right of creditors to make slaves of debtors and their children; and made the honour of office the sole reward for public service. Having established his code, he bound his countrymen by oath, not to change it for ten years. He then withdrew and visited different countries. He returned at the end of that time, and finding Attica embroiled by internal factions, he again withdrew in disgust, and it is uncertain when or where he died. Some accounts say that he died at the Isle of Cyprus. Plutarch gives a full account of his public services, and renders him just honour.

§ 170. About 560 B. C., Pisistratus of royal descent, and a relation of Solon, obtained a kind of royal dominion by various stratagems. He was expelled, but returned in a triumphal chariot, with a female representing Minerva; was again expelled, but returned with an army, and reinstated himself and governed till 527 B. C. He is said to have adhered to the laws of Solon, and to have been essentially serviceable to his countrymen. He left two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus. These assumed jointly a royal authority. The latter was assassinated during a religious festival, and the former reigned alone.

§ 171. Here is found an event insignificant in itself, but which is the real foundation of the military renown of the Greeks, and which produced consequences in which all those who read Grecian history deeply sympathize.

Hippias was an odious tyrant. Some of his countrymen who had suffered tortures by his order, prevailed on

the Delphic oracle to relieve the Athenians from the tyranny of Hippias. He was expelled, and went to Sardis, in Lydia, which is about 50 miles eastwardly of Smyrna. (This had been the capital of Cræsus before-mentioned, so celebrated for his riches. Solon visited him; there is an account of a remarkable conversation between these persons in Herodotus. Cyrus the Persian conquered Cræsus.) When Hippias went to Sardis, he applied to the satrap of Darius, king of Persia, then monarch of all the known earth from the Ægean Sea to India. The Athenian Greeks had assisted their countrymen on the shore of Asia Minor, when the Persians subdued them. Darius demanded of the Athenians to restore Hippias. The Spartans, ever the rivals and enemies of the Athenians, having learned that the command of the oracle to them, to aid in expelling Hippias, had been obtained by fraud, joined the Persians in the demand. The Athenians refused; and hence arose the memorable wars between Darius and the Greeks.

§ 172. Then came the famous battle of Marathon, which deserves notice, since it shows what a few resolute men can do against great numbers, in defence of their homes. Darius dwelt at Susa, near the eastern line of the square in Asia, about 2000 miles from Athens.

The first expedition of the Persians was confided to Mardonius, the son-in-law of Darius. He came with a fleet from the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; and possessed himself of some of the Grecian isles, but his fleet was destroyed by tempests.

§ 173. Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of the governor (of the same name) at Sardis, commanded the second expedition. A fleet bore 500,000 chosen men to the shores of Greece. A portion of these troops were left in the conquered isles in the Archipelago, and 100,000 infantry and a numerous body of horse, were landed on the plains of Marathon, 10 miles northeast of Athens.

§ 174. The inhabitants of Attica were at this time divided into ten tribes. Each tribe chose its own general, and the supreme command belonged to each general by turns. The Athenian force was 10,000 freemen, and perhaps an equal number of slaves. The freemen of Athens were accustomed to severe exercise, and they

were well defended by armour. Among these generals were Miltiades, and Aristides. The former was held in high respect for his military talents. When the turn of the latter came to take the supreme command, he yielded it to Miltiades. The other generals followed this magnanimous example. The Athenians were posted on the right; 1000 men who had come from Plataea, as auxiliaries, on the left; the slaves in the centre. These forces were posted on the declivity of a hill. When the Persians came near, so that their darts and slings could take effect, the Athenians rushed down upon them, and secured to themselves a triumphant victory.

§ 175. On the Greek side two generals and 200 men fell; on the Persian side 6000 were slain in the battle, and as many more in pursuit. The Persians fled, not to their camp, but to their ships, of which seven were added to the spoils of the Greeks. The messenger despatched to Athens, ran with such celerity, as to arrive there, covered with dust and blood, but in such exhaustion, that he had only time to exclaim, 'rejoice with the victors,' then fell and expired. This battle was fought in the year 490 B. C.

§ 176. Xerxes succeeded Darius. He resolved to punish the Greeks effectually. In the year 481 B. C. he prepared a fleet of 1200 ships of war, and 3000 ships of burthen. The number of men in these vessels was 500,000. He is said to have appeared in Greece with a land force of 1,700,000 infantry, and 400,000 cavalry. The attendants of this oriental armament, composed of women, priests, and followers, are said to have equalled the number of fighting men. This is probably the most numerous collection of men, in the shape of an army, that the earth has ever borne. The numbers are supposed by some writers to be grossly exaggerated. They were gathered from the numerous provinces over which the Persian power was then extended. The details of this expedition fill many pages of history, which there is not room to notice. Many of them are doubtless fabulous, most of them highly coloured; and few of them worth noticing.

§ 177. Xerxes commanded in person. He crossed the Hellespont on a bridge made by mooring his ships. His first bridge was destroyed by a tempest, on which occa-

sion he ordered the Hellespont to be beaten with 300 stripes, and to be chained, by casting a pair of fetters into it, in proof of his absolute dominion on the earth. Herodotus says that Xerxes pronounced his malediction in these words; ‘It is thus, thou salt and bitter waters! that thy master punishes thy unprovoked injury; and he is determined to pass thy treacherous streams notwithstanding all the insolence of thy malice.’

§ 178. Xerxes is said to have ascended an eminence, (probably near ancient Troy,) and seated on a throne there, to have surveyed his vast armament both by sea and land in one comprehensive view. This was a possible thing, perhaps, whether it occurred on the European or the Asiatic side of the waters. It is well worthy of notice that about 80 years before Xerxes appeared in Greece, the prophet Daniel uttered these words. ‘Behold there shall stand up yet, three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia.’ (Dan. ch. xi, 2.) When Xerxes had reviewed his millions, no one of the vast number which he beheld, surpassed himself in strength, in stature, and in comeliness. Historians say, that as he sat and viewed this vast multitude he melted into tears, on reflecting that in a hundred years not one of all his hosts would be dwelling on the earth. If he could have looked but fifty years beyond his hundred, he would have seen a time when all his own vast empire would have been submitted to the dominion of a Greek.

179. Availing ourselves of the height to which Xerxes had ascended, let us suppose ourselves to be looking down upon the world, all of which (not held by barbarous tribes,) except Rome, Carthage, Greece, and far eastern Asia, was ruled in twenty distinct satrapies or kingdoms, by one mighty monarch. Royal magnificence, vice adorned with attractive splendour, abject humiliation to superiors, relentless tyranny to inferiors, blind submission to soothsayers and astrologers, more than half the whole number of men on earth held as slaves; such were the elements of society! Looking down on Greece, we see a people of the same language, of the same religion, of austere habits, of superior intelligence, of athletic form of mind and body, skilled in war and enured to hard-

ships, broken into communities, distracted by implacable hostility and malicious rivalry. The Amphictyonic council had long lost its power. In one thing and one only, had they a common sentiment, viz. this: The ravings of a woman seated on a sacred tripod, announced human destiny in mysterious phrases. What would have been more natural than that armed, skilful, patriotic, intelligent Greece, laying aside all animosities, should have united its whole force, and availing itself of the defensible form of the country, have dissipated this host of Asiatics, as the sun dissipates the dews which his absence permits the night to gather. It was not so. They continued, and rather cherished their antipathies. A portion of them even joined the common foe, to satiate their vengeance on their own countrymen. This was the more reproachful, because this was not a war in which there could be difference of opinion as to the motive. All Greece knew, that its sole purpose was conquest, and that there might not be one people left on the earth, who had not submitted to the Persian yoke. The Greeks, by neglect of their own means, and by their own follies, were doomed to see their cities, their temples, and their sacred oracles, pillaged, and destroyed.

§ 180. Xerxes proceeded in his career as though he were making an excursion of pleasure in his own dominions. His path was along the western side of the waters which separate Europe from Asia. He everywhere received the usual tokens of submission, viz.: presents of earth and water, until he came to the lofty range of mountains which bound Thessaly on the south-west, and which run south-eastwardly to the shores on the north-eastern side of Greece. At the end of this range, next the sea, is a narrow passage, not wide enough for two chariots to pass, called the straits of Thermopylæ, from the warm springs in that vicinity. Such of the Greeks in Peloponnesus, and in Attica, as still retained the proper sentiments which the occasion called for, united, and prepared themselves for a manly defence. The Athenians fitted out their ships of war. About sixty thousand freemen, and a greater number of armed slaves, went forth to meet the vast army which had entered Greece. The fleet had gone to Artemisium,

which is at the northwest end of the island of Eubœa, and fifteen miles southeast of Thermopylæ. Eight thousand pikemen were considered sufficient to defend these straits, among whom was Leonidas, king of Sparta, with the strength of Spartan heroism. Xerxes, hearing that the Spartans were posted at Thermopylæ, sent a herald to say, that his object was to punish the Athenians, that he had no particular cause of quarrel with the Spartans, and that they must lay down their arms. The Spartans replied, '*Let him come and take them.*' They took no other notice of the Persians, but continued to amuse themselves with gymnastic exercises, music, conversation, and in adjusting their long hair, to adorn their military costume.

§ 181. The Persians approached, but fell by thousands in attempting to dislodge the Spartans, who, defended by their shields and spears, remained unhurt. Long might this band of 8000 have sustained themselves against hundreds of thousands, if a traitor Greek, forever infamous, by the name of Ephialtes, had not conducted a part of the Persians through a pass in the mountains, unknown before to them. They succeeded in gaining the rear of the Greeks. The approach of the Persians from this quarter being known, Leonidas detached all but three hundred chosen Spartans to meet the enemy, remaining himself with this little band, at the straits. The following night, while the Persians were wrapt in sleep, and so secure in their camp on the plains of Thessaly, that they had not even a guard on duty, Leonidas, with his 300 Spartans, broke into their camp, and effected an immense slaughter. At the dawn, they retired, leaving the whole Persian camp in consternation.

§ 182. Xerxes, enraged at this audacity, forced on his reluctant troops to the narrow pass. One alone of all the Spartans, survived that tremendous conflict. The rest were buried beneath a mound of Persian darts and arrows. A Thracian Greek had advised them to yield, for said he, these barbarians will send forth such a shower of arrows as will obscure the sun. The Spartan Dieneces replied, '*If the Medes obscure the sun's light, we shall fight them in the shade, and be protected from the heat.*' The Spartan band was buried where it fell.

Thither were brought the slain of the detachment who went to meet the Persians coming over the mountains. The Amphictyons raised a monument to Leonidas, in the form of a lion of stone. Another monument was also raised by them in honour of the slain, bearing an inscription to this effect,

‘Go, stranger, and to list’ning Spartans tell,
That here, obedient to their laws, we fell.’

Herodotus says, (Polymnia, ccxxiv, 4. Beloe. 150) ‘I am acquainted with the names of all the three hundred.’ Further on, he says, ‘Aristodemus was the only survivor. He was absent when the battle occurred, and was considered to be so much disgraced by this accident, that when afterwards, at the battle of Plataea, he conducted himself bravely, he was nevertheless unworthy any share in the spoils. One other is said to have survived; but on his return to Sparta, he felt himself so disgraced by being alive, that he destroyed himself.

§ 183. Xerxes pursued his way to Athens through Phocis and Bœotia, ravaging, destroying, and committing the most barbarous excesses. The distance from Thermopylæ to Athens, is about eighty miles. One division went westwardly by the foot of Parnassus, to Delphi. The priests being informed of their approach, consulted the Pythia, who replied, ‘The arms of Apollo are sufficient for the defence of his shrine.’ The women and children were sent across the gulf of Corinth to Achaia, the men climbed the steepes of Parnassus, and concealed themselves in the mountains. The wonderful account of the ancient historians is, that Apollo did take care of his own; for when the Persians approached Delphi, and were passing beneath the frowning heights of Parnassus, an awful storm rent its summit rocks, and rolled its fragments on the assailants, who, panic struck at their own impiety, fled in despair. The Delphians pursued and destroyed great numbers of the unresisting enemy. Those who escaped, joined the main army on its way to Attica. The Athenians abandoned their city, and fled across the Saronic gulf to Argolis, in the Peloponnesus. Leaving Xerxes in possession of

Athens, we will glance at the transactions of the naval war.

§ 184. When the Delphic oracle was consulted on the subject of the Persian invasion, we have a fair sample of the oracular responses, which were adapted to suit the event, whatever that might prove to be. On this occasion the Pythia replied,

‘Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy
The rising source of many a mother’s joy.’

The interpreters insisted that a defeat would be the consequence of a sea engagement near Salamis. But Themistocles, who had risen to some distinction at Athens, contended that if the oracle had meant destruction to the Athenians, it would not have said *immortal* Salamis; but *wretched* Salamis; and that the denunciation was against the Persians. A fleet of three hundred and eighty vessels had been prepared, and had sailed under the command of Themistocles to Artemisium, in Eubœa. The Persian fleet was northwardly of this place, along the coast of Thessaly. They suffered great loss by a tempest. On the day of the battle at Thermopylæ, the fleets engaged, in what is called the battle of Artemisium, in which neither side were victorious, though there was much loss on both sides. The Athenian fleet then returned to Salamis, an island five or six miles from the shore of Attica, south-west from Athens. Thither came the Persian fleet, consisting of twelve hundred vessels, against three hundred and eighty of the Greeks. The details of this battle are very interesting, but there is space only to notice, that Xerxes had seated himself on a lofty throne on the top of Mount Ægaleos, (at the northern end of the gulf) whence he could behold the combat. The Persians were informed that they were to fight under the eye of their king. On the other hand, the Greeks were made desperate by the hymn composed for the occasion: ‘Advance! ye sons of Athens! save your country, defend your wives and children! deliver the temples of your gods! regain the sacred tombs of your renowned forefathers! this day the common cause of Greece demands your valour!’

§ 185. Various fortunate circumstances gave a complete victory to the Greeks, with comparatively insignificant loss on their part. The flower of the Persian infantry had been landed on a rocky isle near the shore of Attica, to be ready there, to intercept the remnant of the Greeks, when the battle had been fought. The battle over, the Greeks hastened to this isle, and almost in the presence of Xerxes, and actually in his view, put them all to death. Thus the proud monarch of the east, saw his fleet disgraced, and the most precious part of his army, destroyed almost in one and the same moment. He rose from his silver throne, and rent his royal robes, and like Napoleon at Moscow, resolved to find his way home.

§ 186. Xerxes reached the Hellespont with all his troops, after severe and complicated sufferings, in about forty-five days. He gladly accepted the offer of Mardonius, his chief general, to remain with 300,000 men to complete his conquests, and escaped himself, it is said, to Asia in a fishing boat, his second bridge having been destroyed by another tempest of the Hellespont, notwithstanding the castigation and the fetters, which the master of the earth had ordered.

The battle of Plataea finished the Persian invasion. On the retreat of Xerxes the Greeks re-assembled their forces, which are said, on the authority of three Grecian historians, to have amounted to 40,000 heavy armed troops, 35,000 light armed Helots (slaves) from Sparta, and about as many more of the same description of troops, from other states. This Grecian force were hardly less at peace among themselves, than they were collectively, as to the Persians. There are many details of their feuds and contentions almost in the presence of their enemy.

§ 187. Mardonius returned with his army to Plataea, in Bæotia, about forty-five miles northwest from Attica. The dissensions of the Greeks, and the events preceding the battle, occupy many pages in history. These only show how little the Greeks valued their own safety, in comparison with the indulgence of their acrimonious feelings, even at the moment when every thing that remained to them, depended on harmony and joint efforts. The battle came. Mardonius fell. The superior skill

and undaunted courage of the Greeks gained a glorious victory.

§ 188. The spoils of this victory give the best information to be had, of the means taken by the Persians to make their expedition to conquer Greece pleasant to themselves; while they disclose interesting facts concerning oriental riches and luxury. Xerxes fled too hastily to take his treasures with him; and there are said to have been found in the captured camp couches magnificently embroidered; tables of gold and silver; bowls and goblets of gold; stalls and mangers of brass, curiously wrought and ornamented; chains, bracelets, scimitars, some of solid gold, others adorned with precious stones; chests of Persian money, which began at that time to be current in Greece, and continued to be so a long time afterwards. Besides this booty, there were many Persian women, and innumerable horses and camels.*

The first duty of the pious Greeks was to satisfy the gods with a tenth; another tenth was given to the general, Pausanias of Sparta; other particular reservations were made to favoured deities and temples. Prizes were distributed among the victors. No one behaved more bravely than the surviving Spartan of Leonidas' band, Aristodemus, who seemed to seek death. But he could not efface his former reproach, nor be deemed worthy of any prize. This battle was fought on the 22d of September, 479 B. C.

§ 189. The last blow given to prostrate the power of Persia over the Greeks, was at Mycalè on the western shore of Asia Minor, near the isle of Samos. There, on the same day on which the battle of Plataea was fought, the united Athenian and Spartan fleets attacked the remnant of the Persian fleet, and accomplished a victory which freed the Ionian colonies forever from the king of Persia. This is said to have been the bloodiest battle of the war. The number of Persians slain was said to exceed 40,000. The Persians had drawn their ships on shore, and had surrounded them with means of defence. The Greeks left their ships, and the battle was on the

* Gillies' History of Greece, 1 vol. 450.

land.* We shall close all remarks on Xerxes, by adding that he retired to Sardis, and consoled himself with profligate pleasures there; then found his way back to Susa, where, in the year B. C. 465, and twenty-first of his reign, he was murdered by Artabanus, the captain of his guards.

* The vessels of our days, which bear the name of ships, are very different from the war vessels of the ancients. The latter should rather be called galleys. They were propelled by oars, and the contest in them resembled the battle on land. One mode of fighting was to row one vessel against another, with such force, as to break in the side, and cause her to sink. The beaks, or prows, were covered with brass, and made with a projecting edge. Level with the water were instruments resembling the points of spears, adapted to penetrate the bottom of the adversary vessel. The banks (or seats) of the rowers, one over the other, were commonly three; but in some instances six, eight, and even ten. The upper oars must have been long enough to reach over all inferior ones. It is supposed that the long oars were balanced by placing lead on the handles. Sails were used.

CHAPTER XV.

Athens from the expulsion of the Persians, to the death of Pericles, 429 B. C., comprising fifty years.

§ 190. GRECIAN events, so far, are of little importance to the present age. We come now to an era, in which persons, and events, are highly interesting; the day of true Grecian renown. It begins with the fifth century B. C., and continues about one hundred and fifty years; or, from the expulsion of the Persians, down to the universal empire of Alexander. There was a dawning of glory before the fifth century, and there were departing, lingering lights, after the sun had gone down. But all that should be respected, admired, and lamented, is found in these one hundred and fifty years.

§ 191. No time will be devoted to the many vindictive and ferocious wars, which occurred among the tribes of Greeks. They take up many pages, but teach only how miserable men can make each other, by submitting themselves to the worst perversions of human motives. In this time occurred the wars distinguished as the Peloponnesian, of which Thucydides was the historian. He is said to have taken notes of the events as they occurred. His work is believed to be among the most respectable of historical productions. There were wars with many of the surrounding islands; with the barbarous nations which dwelt along the shores which divide Asia and Europe. Northeast of Greece, and up to the mouths of the Danube, the European side was called Thrace. In all these, Athens having the superior naval power, makes a conspicuous figure, until Sparta became superior. It is to the efforts of the human mind to improve and adorn society, and not to butcher and destroy, that it will be profitable to devote attention.

§ 192. The political and social system under which any people live, is an important element in the estimate of national character. In the various systems of Greece, there is very little which resembles the popular governments of the United States. Motives, among mere poli-

ticians are the same everywhere. Whether they can be carried into effect or not, must depend on the political and social condition of a people. There are, and have always been, men in the United States, who crave power as much as any Grecian ever did. But, happily, there are checks, and restraints in America, of which Grecians were ignorant.

§ 193. The Athenian form of government may be called republican, during these one hundred and fifty years. But it had qualifications of turbulent democracy, and of princely authority. Artful and ambitious men could make the Athenians do any thing, even against their own best interests, by merely assuming, that all that was effected or intended, was in right of their own sovereignty. The same sort of power was effectively used in France, at the close of the last century. The people there, could endure any thing from their *own* Napoleon. And in America we have seen a striking instance in the beginning of this century, of what a free people can be made to do and suffer, when charmed with the assurance that it was themselves, and not their rulers, who governed. It is an old remark, that the most odious tyranny which society has ever exhibited, is that which has been exercised in the name of liberty and the people.

§ 194. The Athenians were divided into ten tribes. They are supposed to have been composed not of those only who dwelt within the walls of Athens, but of those also who dwelt in other cities, and villages of Attica. The population was made up of free citizens, and of an immense number of slaves, who were captives in war, and mostly of Grecian origin. Thus, Athens is said to have had about 84,000 free citizens, and 400,000 slaves. Under some circumstances, free citizens were reduced to slavery. The first political assembly, was that of the free citizens, who had the right of voting, and who were in number about 8000; the second, was the senate of 500, chosen from among the tribes; the highest was that of nine Archons, who were the executive power. There were many judicial tribunals, which it would be useless to enumerate.* The most distinguished was the

* We acknowledge here the pleasure and instruction derived from a small volume entitled, A Compendium of Grecian Antiqui-

Areopagus, so called from its place of meeting (northwardly of the Acropolis within the city,) the hill of Mars. It was of high antiquity; of uncertain number, composed of those only who had been archons. It sustained a high reputation at all times. Its meetings were held in the open air, that its members might not be contaminated by breathing the same atmosphere with the infamous, whose fate they were to determine; and in the dark, that their ears might be open to the truth, and their eyes closed to the delusions of eloquence. Their judgments were known by counting the number of black flints, and white ones, deposited by the members, in urns; the black being distinguished from the white, by having a hole through them. As the Athenians were served by slaves, and had leisure to devote themselves to the consideration of public affairs, they were excellent materials for the ingenuity of those who are *industrious to promote the good of the people*.

§ 195. The popular assemblies of the Athenians were like a wheat field, which bends always as the wind blows, and the more humbly in proportion to the strength of the blast. It may be inferred, that a society so governed; would disclose the effects which powerful minds can exercise over large numbers; and that the delusions to which such numbers are liable, would often take the place of rational judgment.

§ 196. The Athenians commenced a new existence after the Persians had been expelled. Their first care was to bring home their wives, and children, and place them in temporary abodes amidst the ruins of their city; and next to guard their place of abode, by the erection of walls from the shore of the Saronic gulf to and around the site of Athens, comprising in length, about eighteen miles. On the gulf, these walls included the Piræus, which was the harbour of their navy. In the following sketches of Athens, it will be convenient to mingle such historical events as may be thought worth noticing, with

ties, by Charles Dexter Cleveland, A. M., Professor of Languages in Dickinson College. Second edition. Published by Hilliard, Gray, Little, & Wilkins, Boston, 1831. This is the work of an accomplished scholar, and contains a rich collection of facts, in better form, than in any other work known to us.

the names and characters, which are associated with these events.

§ 197. Miltiades, Themistocles, and Aristides have already been mentioned, as distinguished men, in connection with the first Persian invasion, which closed with the battle of Marathon. Miltiades may be justly considered as the individual who settled the fate of that battle. Public men in Greece, as elsewhere in the world, found their worst enemies among their own countrymen. Miltiades proposed a naval expedition, which being unsuccessful, his countrymen exacted from him the cost of it. He was wounded in this warfare, committed to prison after his return, and there died of his wounds. Themistocles, and Aristides, were competitors for public favour. The former appears to have been the most daring and adroit. He is supposed to have put the latter aside by resorting to ostracism. This process was conducted by the assembly of the people, each one of whom wrote on a shell, called *ostrakon*, the name of any citizen whose presence was deemed dangerous to the public safety. If 6000 shells were found to bear the name of the same person, he was *ostracised*, or banished for ten years. At the end of that time, he might return, and resume all the relations of citizenship. It does not appear that Aristides ever used his power for any purpose inconsistent with the common good; and his fickle countrymen gave him the surname of 'the Just.' He died at an advanced age, deservedly honoured and beloved.

§ 198. Themistocles appears to have exerted himself to the utmost to improve and secure Athens against its enemies, and especially the Spartans. But in 471 B. C. he also, had to submit to ostracism. He retired to Argos, where he met Pausanias, who commanded the Greek forces at Plataea, and who had been expelled from Sparta. Pausanias had sold himself to the king of Persia, and persuaded Themistocles to do the same. There are different accounts of the termination of his life. He is supposed in despair and disgust, to have taken poison at Magnesia, (Asia Minor,) in 449 B. C.

§ 199. Cimon, the son of Miltiades, was the next public man in Athens, who attained to great distinction. He was patronized by Aristides, and distinguished himself

at the battle of Salamis, being then a young man. He afterwards commanded the Athenian navy, and conquered the whole of the southern coast of Asia Minor, to the northeast corner of the Mediterranean. Being entitled to the tenth of the spoils, he became exceedingly rich. He applied his wealth in adorning Athens, and in feeding and providing for the poor. He prostrated the walls of his gardens and fields, that all persons might take what they pleased. Elegant walks, ornaments of the market-place, the establishment of the academy in beautiful gardens, without the walls of the city, were improvements made at his expense. He never assumed any superiority over the citizens, but his virtues and munificence were intolerable, and the consequence was, banishment. He was recalled, and reinstated in power; and while besieging the city of Citium, in the isle of Cyprus, died about 449 B. C.

§ 200. His successor in public favour, PERICLES, was the most distinguished man of his age, and perhaps of any age, who was not associated with distinguished military fame. The age of Pericles, is the age of Athenian glory. It is the most conclusive proof of his ability and tact, that he was able to govern the inconstant Athenians during forty successive years. The secret of his dominion appears to have been, that he understood their true character, and knew how to make them believe, that every thing which he saw fit to do, was done by themselves. He was the rival of Cimon, and was adroit enough to send Cimon out of his way.

§ 201. Pericles was the son of Xanthippus, who conquered at Mycalè. His person was remarkable for the length of the head. He received a superior education under Anaxagoras, Damon, and Zeno of Elia. The former, like Pythagoras (who preceded him by about 100 years, and who may be considered the founder of Grecian philosophy,) had visited Egypt, and returned to teach in Athens. In the theories of this powerful mind are discerned the elements of the philosophy which is received at the present day. He conceived of a supreme intelligence, and hence was charged with impiety and banished. He had many pupils, who were afterwards among the most distinguished men of Greece. Pericles had thus the benefit of able teachers, and was not only,

master of the learning and philosophy of his age, but was instructed also, in all the elegant accomplishments, and attained to the distinction of Olympian, for his excellence in oratory.

§ 202. It is said that he was the first Grecian who studied and reduced his speeches to writing; and that before he addressed the Athenians, he made his sacrifices to the gods, and prayed of them, that nothing might escape him, which would be offensive to his audience. As he had not riches to make himself acceptable, like Cimon, he concluded to make his fellow citizens spend their own treasures. When he had exhausted these, he took the treasures which had been gathered by the contributions of all the Greeks, at Delos, to be used in the common defence against the northern barbarians, and brought these to Athens. When the allies complained of this robbery, he answered, that Athens had made Greece safe from all foreign enemies, and that it did not become those who had been made safe by Athenian valour, to inquire into the appropriation of the public money. Without assuming any princely authority, or claiming more than to be the obedient servant of the people, he sent away, on schemes of conquest, all who might be troublesome at home. Those who remained in Athens, he kept busy in public works, in the theatres, and in amusements. Being at length charged with prodigality in expenditure, he answered, that he would repay all he had expended, in raising the magnificent structures of Athens, if they would allow him to inscribe his own name on them. The Athenians replied that he might spend as much as he pleased.

203. The schemes of Pericles called for the utmost of Athenian ingenuity, and genius. Body and mind, and every material that art could put to use, were in demand. Poetry, eloquence, music, sculpture, architecture, all efforts in the common, or fine arts, were paid for, or honoured with prizes. When labour closed for the day, theatrical, and other exhibitions, were ready to continue the excitement.

§ 204. About the year 450 B. C., Athens had attained to such eminence over all other parts of Greece, as to attract genius and talents, from all the Grecian cities, and from the isles, and shores of Asia Minor; and especially from that part of the latter, distinguished as the

Ionian colony. For some time before the age of Pericles, the best artists, musicians, historians, and philosophers, were born and educated among the Ionians; but now, all came to Athens, who pretended to any distinction. Hence it is, that so many illustrious names are found in this city. Among those who flourished there, (rather in the age than in the time of Pericles,) may be enumerated, Polygnotus of Thasos; Apollodorus, Zeuxis, Parrhasius of Ephesus, and many others, as *painters*. It was Zeuxis who painted a curtain so naturally, that Parrhasius, his rival, asked to have it drawn aside; and the same who said of his own painted boy holding grapes, that if the boy had been as well painted as the grapes, the birds would not have pecked at them.

§ 205. In sculpture, Phidias had the most liberal patronage of Pericles. He has always been regarded as the great master of statuary. Among his works were three statues of Pallas in the Acropolis; one was cast in bronze, and paid for out of the tenth of the spoils of Marathon, devoted to the gods. The second was in the Parthenon, so called from Parthenos (the virgin). It was forty-five feet in height, formed of wood overlaid with ivory. He threw over it a garment of gold either beaten, or cast, with such exquisite skill, that it could be put on or off at pleasure; the weight was of a value exceeding half a million of dollars. Among the figures which adorned the shield, Phidias introduced Pericles and himself. The same artist fashioned the Olympian Jupiter, in the temple near Elis; represented as presiding over the Olympic games. This work was regarded as among the wonders of the world. These are but few of the works of Phidias; and he was only first among the eminent.

§ 206. In music, the Greeks were distinguished at an early time. The celebrated Pythagoras (one hundred and fifty years before Pericles,) made music a part of his philosophy. Pericles instituted prizes for excellence in this art, and was himself the judge, and distributor of prizes. In the drama, Aristophanes amused the Athenians with his comedy and satire. Euripides, called as well the philosophical as the rhetorical tragedian, bound them in tearful sympathy. This poet was born at Salamis, on the very day of the battle there. Sophocles, the tragedian, was the competitor of Euripides; and often bore

the prize away from him. Æschylus was cotemporary with these two; and the three are called the most eminent among the dramatic writers of Greece. The most celebrated poet of this time was Pindar, the Theban, whose style of poetry has given a name to a sort of verses familiarly known at the present day.

§ 207. Among historians, Herodotus is the distinguished one of this age. He was of Halicarnassus, (Caria, Asia Minor,) one of the Ionians. There might be added a long list of mathematicians, orators, astronomers, sophists, grammarians, poets, philosophers, and artists, all of whom flourished at the same time in Athens. One among them should be selected, as a person who had a powerful influence over Pericles. This was the celebrated Aspasia, born at Miletus, in Caria, a poetess and sophist; eloquent, and of great personal attraction. The fame of Athens drew her thither. Pericles is supposed to have submitted himself to her dominion; and she is said to have given the finishing polish to his eloquence. The people called Pericles 'Olympian Jupiter,' and Aspasia, 'Olympian Juno.' She had occasion to avail herself of his accomplishments; for some persons, who desired to overthrow Pericles, but feared to assail him, had recourse to an accusation of Aspasia, for contempt of the gods. He defended her in the Areopagus, and is supposed to have saved her by the eloquence of his own tears, and grief. She became his wife. Whatever may have been her real character, her house, called 'the court of Aspasia,' was frequented by the most eminent men of Athens. Similar cases are not unknown, at this day, on the continent of Europe. The eloquence of Pericles is mentioned with great applause, at the close of a war which Aspasia is supposed to have promoted. The people of Miletus, (Aspasia's native city) and those of the Isle of Samos were at war. The Athenians took part in the hostility against the Samians, and soon became principal in this affair. After a siege of nine months, in which much money was spent by Pericles, and many Athenians fell, the chief city of the Samians was demolished, some of their principal men put to death, their whole fleet destroyed, and many young persons carried off as captives. These events furnished fine materials for eloquence, of which Pericles availed himself on his

return. He celebrated the glory of Athens, as the victor of Samos; and concluded his proud display with an oration in honour of the fallen heroes of the war. When he came down from the rostrum, the women who had lost husbands, brothers, sons, and friends still dearer, crowded around him, and adorned him with crowns and chaplets of flowers, as though he had won the prize at Olympia. Such is the power of eloquence.

§ 208. From such circumstances as have been sketched, one is prepared for the still more splendid achievements of Pericles, in the unrivalled edifices which rose by his order. The temple of Minerva, (who was called also Pallas, and Parthenos, (the virgin) whence her temple is called Parthenon,) was placed on the summit of the Acropolis,* and within it was the statue of Pallas, by Phidias. The temple was two hundred and twenty-eight feet in length, one hundred and two feet in breadth, sixty-five feet in height. It was constructed entirely of Pentelic marble, wrought within and without in the finest specimens of sculpture, selected to flatter the pride of Athens. The entrance to the Parthenon, situated on the only accessible side of the Acropolis, (western) was a structure hardly less admired than the Parthenon itself, called the propylæa, or portico. It was of white marble, exceedingly massive, but tastefully constructed; and, at the same time, an elegant ornament and impregnable defence. There were many other edifices, which can only be mentioned by name; some of which were before the time of Pericles, and some of which he adorned. 1. The théâtre of Bacchus. 2. Odeum, or theatre for music. 3. The Prytaneum, or temple where the laws of Solon were deposited. 4. The Museum, from the name of a poet supposed to have been buried there. 5. The Forum, or place of popular assembly, comprising markets; but including also temples dedicated to various deities. 6. The temple or hall of Paintings, called the Stoa (Pæcile). 7. The magnificent temple of Theseus, erected soon after the battle of Marathon, on the plain. 8. Olympeum, rebuilt by Pisistratus. 9. The Stadium, an immense amphitheatre, on the banks of the Illissus. 10. The Pantheon, or temple of all the gods, of great

* Acro-polis means the summit, or high part of the city.

extent and magnificence, with sculptured ornaments in honour of these deities. 11. Academy. 12. Lyceum. 13. Gymnasia, comprising many buildings for all descriptions of athletic exercise.

§ 209. Such was Athens in the days of the celebrated Pericles. It was his remarkable fortune not to have died in prison, in battle, nor in banishment; nor to have lost the favour of the people but once, and then for a short time, when he was compelled to resign the command of the fleet, and to pay a fine, in consequence of an unsuccessful expedition. His close of life was a sorrowful one, having survived most of his own family. Towards the end of Pericles' administration, Athens was visited by a most distressing pestilence, in which great numbers perished, and among others, all that were then alive of his family, except a son by Aspasia, who could not claim to be an Athenian citizen. The firmness and calmness with which Pericles conducted himself during this general calamity, and his own griefs, are mentioned as high traits of character. To console him, the Athenians repealed a law which he had caused to be enacted, that no one should be deemed a citizen, whose parents were not such. This repeal admitted his only surviving offspring by Aspasia to citizenship. He died of a lingering sickness, at an advanced age, in the year 429 B. C., surrounded by sincere and respectful friends. While these friends were conversing in his presence on his public life, and honourable devotion to the interests of his country, he interrupted them by saying, 'You forget that which is most to be praised, that I have never caused an Athenian citizen to put on mourning.'

CHAPTER XVI.

From the death of Pericles, in 429 B. C. to the commencement of the reign of Alexander, 336 B. C.

§ 210. In losing Pericles, Athens lost, not only its most eminent citizen, but the only person who had capacity to govern its singular population. Wars, pestilence, and calamities mark the next ten years, and no one worth naming appeared, till Socrates and Alcibiades arose. The latter was the grandson of Pericles, and brought up in his family. He was a person of singular beauty, great abilities, excessively profligate, and utterly destitute of all moral principle. He rose to public trust, but was faithless to his own country, and condemned to death, while absent. After a variety of adventure, in the turbulent state of Greece, he died by violence in Phrygia, (Asia Minor.) It is remarkable that Socrates entertained a most affectionate friendship for him; that they were sometimes in battle together, and each saved the life of the other. What of good there was in Alcibiades, he probably learned from this friend. He had eminent qualities to be useful, if these had been accompanied by good motives. He was several times victor at the Olympic games.

§ 211. The Athenians undertook to conquer Sicily, about the year 418 B. C. In this effort, Nicias and Demosthenes (not the orator) were the leaders. The Spartans, ever hostile to Athens, joined the Sicilians. A most disastrous and mournful fate, awaited the Athenians in this warfare. It differed from no similar occurrence, except in its distresses and miseries. The Sicilians, Spartans, and nearly all the states in Greece, were combined against Athens, before the end of the fifth century B. C.; and even Persia, at least abetted the combination.

§ 212. In the distress to which Athens was reduced, its citizens took the remarkable measure of abolishing all its ancient powers of government. They selected ten citizens, and gave them authority to choose one hundred,

and to these, to choose three hundred, and thus was constituted a power vested in a body who soon acquired the name of the four hundred tyrants. This tyranny lasted but four months. Alcibiades returned to Athens, restored the democracy, and was hailed as deliverer, and might easily have assumed a crown. But such was the enfeebled, factious, and miserable state of Athens, that before the end of this century, (in 404 B. C.) the Spartans effected the object for which they had been struggling during many centuries. They entered the sacred city of Minerva, as victors, and demolished, as far as they could do it, the proud monuments of Athenian glory, which the age of Pericles had established. This event happened on the anniversary of the battle of Salamis. The day was concluded with a magnificent festival, in which the poets were called into service. They chose the touching pieces which applied to the fallen state of Athens, so late the sovereign of Greece, and the mistress of the seas; but now bereft of all, and reduced to misery, so that even the iron-hearted Spartans melted into tears. Thus ended a desolating war of twenty-seven years, between neighbours, who spoke the same language, who worshiped the same gods, and whose union would have enabled them to defy the world in arms. Before the end of this century, while a Spartan force still occupied Athens, its citizens were harassed by new and cruel factions, first by the thirty tyrants, and then by their successors, the Decemvirs.

§ 213. One of the mournful and disgraceful events of these times, (400 B. C.) was the accusation and death of Socrates. In one of the plays of Aristophanes, this eminent man was introduced, as denying the religion of his country, as corrupting the morals of his disciples, and as professing the arts of sophistry. During all the calamities and miseries of Athens he had lived in retirement, cultivating philosophy. One of his friends, Chærophon, in the hope of saving him, had consulted the Delphic oracle on the question, whether any man was wiser than Socrates? and was answered, that Socrates was the wisest of men. In allusion to this answer of the oracle, Socrates said, in his defence of himself, that he pretended to no superior wisdom;—what he did possess, he freely communicated, striving to the utmost to render

his fellow-citizens more virtuous, and more happy; 'an employment,' said he, 'which I believe myself called to by the god, whose authority I respect, Athenians! still more than yours.' His judges (not the Areopagus, as some histories say, but a mob of five hundred called the court of Helicæa,) condemned him to drink hemlock in prison, at the age of seventy. Many friends attended him in his last hours, and among them Xenophon, celebrated as a general and a scholar, who said, when the mournful scene had closed: 'If any man, a lover of virtue, ever found a more profitable companion than Socrates, I deem that man the happiest of human kind.'

§ 214. The Lacedæmonians (or Spartans) had become the most powerful nation of the Greeks. They pushed their conquests by sea, and became formidable to the power of Persia, at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Conon, an Athenian, persuaded Artaxerxes, the king of Persia, that Athens must be restored, to balance Sparta. He obtained a fleet and money, conquered the Spartans on the sea, and hurried to Athens, and rebuilt its walls, 393 B. C., and Attica again took an independent part in the affairs of Greece.

§ 215. From this time, 393 to 336 B. C. or about sixty years, the communities of Greece exhibit one unceasing struggle to gain superiority, or to preserve *that*, which modern statesmen call 'the balance of power.' If we throw into this lapse of time the usual quantity of speeches, missions, cunning, treachery, fighting, skill, bravery, desolation and misery, it makes up the history of public affairs, and dates and names may be of little interest. There is one course of events, in this space of time, worth mentioning.

§ 216. The northern part of Greece has been little noticed, since the battle of Plataea. Nothing had occurred there, material to our purpose. It will be recollected that Plataea is in Bœotia, forty-five miles north-west of Attica. Thebes, a very considerable city, ten miles north of Plataea, was its capital. Leuctra, nine miles west of Plataea, is the place of a famous battle, presently to be mentioned.

§ 217. The Spartans having been unsuccessful in their national vocation, war, resorted to ingenuity to keep peace, that their wings and talons might grow again. They proposed a convention at Sparta, to make a pacific

confederation. There were, at Thebes, two remarkable men of very different characters, but intimate friends, Pelopidas and Epaminondas. The former was of noble descent, and of nobler qualities. The Spartans had taken possession of Thebes, in time of peace. A tyrannical faction had grown up there. Pelopidas, (with others,) was banished. He went to Athens while Pericles ruled. He disguised himself, returned to Thebes, and availing himself of a banquet, slew the tyrants, and freed Thebes from the Spartan yoke. He rose, deservedly, to great distinction. When the Spartans called the pacific council, it was supposed that Pelopidas would be the Theban delegate. But the Senate of Thebes unanimously chose Epaminondas. His friend had the magnanimity to take no offence at this preference.

§ 218. Epaminondas was descended from the kings of Bœotia. He was poor; a Pythagorean philosopher, despising riches, dwelling in retirement, and was now forty years of age. He went to the Spartan council, and listened to the Spartan policy, the object of which proved to be, that the states of Greece should all give up their confederacies, and alliances, and unite in a general one. Epaminondas inquired, whether the Spartans intended to give up their dominion over the nations of the Peloponnesus, which they had conquered. He was answered, that this was not the intention, for this whole region now belonged to them, though Thebes was required to surrender all its conquests. It need hardly be added, that the crafty Spartans failed in their project. To avenge themselves, they forthwith sent an army against Thebes. These two famous Thebans met them, with half the numbers which the Spartans brought, and fought them triumphantly, at Leuctra, and slew 4000 of the assailants, and Cleombrutes, their king, among the number. The military exploits of Epaminondas were in the highest degree honourable. He twice led armies into the Peloponnesus. He again conquered the Spartans, at Mantinea, in Arcadia, (south of the Corinthian gulf.) In that battle he fell, at the age of forty-eight. He was pierced by a dart, in the thickest of the battle. He was rescued, (and his shield with him,) yet living. His physicians told him that when the dart was extracted, he must die. When the news of victory was brought

to him, his friends were lamenting around him his inevitable death, and that he had no children to bear up his illustrious name; 'I leave,' said he, 'two immortal daughters, the victories of Leuctra and Mantinea. I have lived long enough.' He drew out the dart with his own hands, and expired. (363 B. C.) 'He was a man,' (says the historian Nepos) 'adorned with every virtue, and stained by no vice.' Eight years were long enough to secure to Epaminondas an earthly immortality. What a touching eulogy is this man's life on rational philosophy! Pelopidas too fell in battle, contending with a tyrannical chief, who reigned in Thessaly, north of Bœotia, soon after the death of his admirable countryman. Such were the conflicts of Greece, for sixty years; but there were few such men as Pelopidas, and but one Epaminondas.

§ 219. The light which Pericles had shed upon Greece was still brilliant amidst all the political conflicts to which that country was doomed. Philosophy, and the fine arts had taken root, too deeply to be overthrown by storms, which could demolish states and empires. We will endeavour to condense into a small space the events on these subjects, which date from some time within the fifth century B. C., and which are connected with art or science, at the present day.

The teaching of Socrates gave birth to moral philosophy. Before his time philosophy seems to have been intent on the nature and origin of things. Of this class of philosophers was Thales of Ionia, 610 B. C. and Pythagoras, of whose place of birth nothing is known, supposed to be of Samos. He resided at Crotona, in the Italian colony, at the southern extremity of Italy. He was cōtemporary with Thales, and had many disciples. His theory was that mankind could be governed by reason, not by force. He believed in the transmigration of the soul, which he learned in Egypt. There is much mysticism and fable, mingled in the account given of this eminent man. He may be considered as the founder of the philosophers who were called sophists.

§ 220. The schools of philosophy, whence streams have flowed through all the learning of subsequent ages, are those of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Antisthenes, and Zeno: all of whom may have been living at the same

time, though of different ages. It would occupy more space than can be so devoted, to state the distinctions among these philosophers, and their numerous disciples. It is due to them to say, that more illustrious minds have not appeared among men; and their thoughts have been the fountains from which no small part of modern erudition has been drawn. No one of them was born at Athens, though all of them were attracted thither, during the splendid ministry of Pericles. Hence comes the Socratic school, in all its varieties; the Platonic or academic sects, (Plato taught at the academy, outside of the walls, northwest from the Acropolis); the Aristotelian or peripatetic (from Greek words meaning walking about, which was Aristotle's action while teaching); stoics, from Zeno, who taught in the painted stoa, or porch; cynics, who were so called from despising all earthly good, their founder Antisthenes, a disciple of Socrates.

§ 221. The sculpture of this age has never been excelled nor equalled. The bold, ideal, or mythologic style of sculpture, dates from this age, of which the examples are numerous. Next came that of beauty and grace. At the head of these artists are placed Praxiteles and Scopas. The Venus of the latter is supposed to be the model of that, which has survived all time, under the name of Venus de Medicis. The Cupid of this age, was not represented as a child, but as a beautiful youth. No doubt the Apollo of Belvidere, and all the mythological sculpture of later ages, were borrowed from this.

§ 222. Painting attained to its perfection in this time; and nothing commendatory of the art appears afterwards, until the modern schools arose. Of these ancient attainments in the art, nothing is known but through words; time and barbarism have spared even little of that excellence, which lived in marble.

§ 223. This was rather the age in which eloquence arose to its highest elevation, than that in which it began. The Greeks were always eloquent. The machinations of the half savage and perfidious Philip of Macedonia (next north of Thessaly,) drew forth the three orations of Demosthenes to the Athenians, which have given the name of philippic to a species of eloquence. He was born at Athens about 375 and died 319 B. C.,

and was therefore cotemporary with Pericles, nearly forty years. Isocrates was his rival, but never his equal. Eloquence appears to have been the true road to Athenian hearts, in which respect, hearts of that time, were very much like hearts of the present day. It is said of Demosthenes, that he *made himself* what he was; but he could not have made his own genius. Demosthenes sought a civic honour, sometimes conferred by the people for public services, and urged his pretensions in an oration. Isocrates made an oration against him, to which Demosthenes replied. Isocrates being afterwards compelled to leave Athens, opened a school of rhetoric at Syracuse, and read his oration against Demosthenes to his pupils. They expressed a desire to hear that of Demosthenes in reply. When they had heard it, they could not refrain from expressing their admiration. 'What would you have thought of it,' said Isocrates, 'if you had heard it spoken by himself.'*

§ 224. Some of the many works of philosophy, eloquence, and poetry, of the Periclean age have come down to us; and enough to show what the grace and elegance of that age must have been. Of the music of that day, nothing is known, but by description. It is probable, that in this the Greeks are now greatly surpassed. After all, the Greeks were wanting in one thing. Able, learned, eloquent, and elegant as they may have been, they were yet barbarians in morals. In contemplating their character as a whole, with all their attractions, life was never worth so much among any of them, as it may be to every one, in free, rational, united, and Christian America.

§ 225. We are now to take leave of the glorious days of Greece. Little more is to be added, before the time when Greece, so long contending with the great power of Persia, saw one of her natives extend a victorious flight over all the Persian realms of the east. But this was only

* It must be confessed, that there is at best, in the present day, a very imperfect knowledge of Grecian and Roman eloquence. There are entire orations in both languages *on paper*; the thoughts and words are, therefore, known. But in what manner were these orations delivered? What were the tones, the gesticulations, and even what were the common sounds given to the words which are now read? Of all this nothing is known.

preparatory to the final extinction of its own independence, and to subjection to a power, which had been gathering strength in the west.

§ 226. Philip of Macedon meditated the subjugation of Greece. The confederated states met him at Chero-neæ, in Bœotia, thirty-five miles northwest of Thebes. The confederates, led on by inexperienced and unworthy chiefs, fell in battle before the Macedonian phalanx. Philip, and his youthful son Alexander, commanded their forces; and Greece, enfeebled by miserable councils, dissensions, and depravity, sunk, for many years, from all pretension even to military fame.

§ 227. The assassination of Philip at the age of forty-seven (about 336 B. C.) prevented his complete subjugation of Greece. Pausanias, a young Macedonian, committed this crime, at the instigation of Persia. Alexander ascended the throne at the age of twenty, and we are next to consider his exploits in the east.

CHAPTER XVII.

The reign of Alexander and its consequences, from 336 B. C. to the time when Greece became a Roman province in 188 B. C.

§ 228. ALEXANDER, the son of Philip, and pupil of Aristotle, was born at Pella, in Macedonia, in the year B. C. 356, and commenced his reign at the age of twenty, (in 336 B. C.) Greece had, in effect, already submitted to his power, and had appointed him at this early age, their military chief, in the pending war with Persia. He did not wait at home for the enemy, but sought them by crossing the Hellespont. In twelve years he changed the condition of the known world, from the eastern limits of Roman power, to the midst of India; and from the Black Sea, to the southern extent of Egypt. He first met the Persians at the river Granicus, a small river which runs north-eastwardly, parallel with the Hellespont, and twenty-five miles southeast of it, and which falls into the ancient Propontis, now called the Sea of Marmora. His force was 30,000 foot and 5000 horse; that of Persia was far more numerous. He conquered, and passed through Asia Minor, to Damascus; everywhere victorious. All cities that opposed him were besieged and destroyed; among these were Tyre of the Phœnicians, and Gaza of the Philistines. Egypt, rejoicing to be free from Persian dominion, received him rather as deliverer than conqueror. He founded Alexandria, at the western mouth of the Nile, which became a magnificent city, and still exists, though greatly changed. He entered Babylon in triumph; took and destroyed Persepolis, the then capital of Persia. He penetrated to the shore of the Caspian Sea, and to India.

§ 229. He prepared a fleet to sail down the Indus, to the sea, under the command of Nearchus. This fleet, (passing around the south of Arabia) arrived at the head of the Persian gulf, while the army proceeded, suffering every privation and hardship, to Babylon, being diminished to one fourth of its number, on its arrival there.

Here he indulged in excessive pleasures, and here he died, at the age of 32, in the year 323 B. C. His remains were taken in a golden coffin to Alexandria. It is said the sarcophagus of Alexander was carried to the British museum, (London) about 1802, and is there preserved. The word sarcophagus, is derived from two Greek words, meaning 'flesh' and 'I eat,' because coffins were made of a kind of limestone, which had the quality of consuming a body placed in it, so that nothing remained at the end of forty days but the teeth. The word is now used (it is believed) to mean any durable sort of coffin, and not limited to such as were made of this peculiar sort of stone, if any such there ever was.

§ 230. It may well be supposed, that in such an excursion, many wonderful events occurred. Alexander had able men with him, who have given an account of his exploits. The details are numerous; many of them, if true, are really wonderful. The story of his adventures is about as well worth knowing as those which are contained in the tales of the thousand and one nights. The principal scene of these tales, was Bagdat, a little north of the great city wherein a disgraceful revel closed the eventful life of this warrior. Historians have dignified him with the surname of The Great. Warriors, philosophers, statesmen, and moralists, might, respectively, add a substantive to that appellation, which would have very different significations. The transmission to his preceptor, Aristotle, of materials for natural history, was serviceable to science. But whether he meant to promote science, or pay a compliment to himself, in remembering Aristotle, may be very questionable.

§ 231. If the sole purpose of Alexander had been to humble, and afflict Persia, for the wrongs done to Greece, he would have been entitled to some respect. His wanton and cruel conquest of nations, who had done no wrong to him, or his country, and some of whom had hardly heard of the Greeks, till Alexander led them to take, plunder, and destroy their homes, may entitle him to be called great; but robber, or bandit, would be no unjust addition. If the splendour of military glory be abstracted from this chief, it is difficult to find in his character, any thing which entitles him to his renown. He was daring, revengeful, malicious, selfish, voluptuous

and cruel. History tells of no one good thing which he accomplished, or meditated ; but of many which would have sent any common man to the gibbet. Greatness then may consist, historically, in doing those acts, which only one in many millions could, and would do.

§ 232. It is difficult to know, accurately, the intellectual and moral qualities of one's cotemporaries. The difficulty is immeasurably increased when the subject of inquiry is veiled by 2000 years, and is to be seen only through the misty medium of history. Thus, what is really known of Aristotle, and of his competency to be the preceptor of Alexander ? Did he teach him how to conquer by physical force, and fraud, or inculcate the principles of action, which have made the name of Socrates immortal ? Perhaps Aristotle knew the character of the Greeks, and the qualities indispensable to defence against them. Ability to defend, was only another name for the power to conquer, in that age. If it be true that Aristotle prepared a copy of Homer for Alexander's use, and that this apt scholar always had this copy with him, and never laid himself on his pillow, until he had read from it, it may be inferred that the genius of Alexander, as displayed in his glory, was fashioned on the model of poetic heroism, in which moral excellence was an element of little worth. He was one of those spirits who confounds the mind by the audacity of his enterprises, and who would have been called a madman if he had miscarried. If we except his generosity, or rather his contempt for riches, there is not a solitary virtue to relieve the sombre picture of Alexander. Even the qualities which some writers admire in him may all be reduced to self-gratulation and selfishness. Yet every man will be admired who can fascinate and command his fellow men, and achieve what few men dare to attempt.

The effect of Alexander's conquests may not be to his praise, so far as they were useful. This effect was to break down the barbarous magnificence of the east, and to diffuse the intellectual light which adorned Greece, and to disseminate the language which was the medium of Grecian art and science.

§ 233. When Alexander perceived that he was to die, he gave his ring to Perdicas, his prime minister ; and being asked to whom he left his empire, he answered,

‘to the worthiest.’ In person, Alexander was short, and his head was misplaced on his shoulders, or inclining to one side. The grief of his army at his death was excessive. Whether he was mourned for as a *chief* with whom perils and glory had been shared, or as a *man*, they can best judge who know the human heart. The admiration of military men for their chiefs, is only an extravagant form of selfishness ; and one which may be regarded with terror by all who have any thing to preserve. Except an infuriated mob, as in the French revolution, there is nothing so terrible in the history of mankind as a general who leads a craving mercenary army, whose only home is a camp. Alexander’s military chiefs, after an anarchy of some duration, intermixed with bloody wars, appointed a weak person, named Aridæus, a son of Philip and a dancing woman, and a posthumous son of Alexander, by Roxana, whom he married in Persia, joint kings. Of these two, there is nothing to narrate. The military chiefs divided the empire as governors, or satraps, under these kings, but soon became kings themselves. Cassander took possession of Macedonia and Greece. Lysimachus had the regions north of Macedonia bordering on the waters which divide Europe and Asia, including ancient Byzantium, now Constantinople. Ptolemy had the countries around the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, including Egypt. Seleucus had most of Asia Minor, Syria, and the territories watered by the Euphrates and Tigris, and all eastward of these ; and Antigonus a kingdom between Seleucus and Cassander.

§ 234. The Grecian kingdom passed through several successors for about 140 years, when it became a province of the Roman empire. During all this time tyranny, violence, and crime, seemed to be the prominent elements of history in fallen Greece. The events of Lysimachus’ reign, and of his successors, are not important enough to be considered. Seleucus founded an empire, the seat of which was the celebrated city of Antioch, at the northeast corner of the Mediterranean, which endured for about 230 years, till the Romans became masters of the east. This period of history is distinguished as the reign of the Seleucidæ. The usual quantity of wars, violence, crimes, magnificence, and suffer-

ings, makes up the historical events of this lapse of time.

§ 235. Ptolemy founded the empire of the Ptolemies in Egypt. He is called Ptolemy Soter, and deserves to be respectfully noticed as the friend of philosophy and learning. He assumed the title of king, nineteen years after the death of Alexander, or in 304 B. C. He reigned twenty years, and at the age of eighty resigned his kingdom to his son Philadelphus. Ptolemy Soter was called also Lagus. He was a Macedonian, and supposed to be the son of Philip. He had the surname Soter (Saviour) from the Rhodians (Isle of Rhodes, where the famous colossal statue stood) to whom he rendered an essential service. He died 284 B. C. This dynasty comprised eleven successive sovereigns, whose average of years was nearly twenty-seven on the throne. This is the longest duration (294 years) for the like number of sovereigns, within the range of history. The first, the second, and the third (who was called Euergetes) of the Ptolemies, were the patrons of learning and of public improvements, and restored to Egypt its ancient fame, adorned with the embellishments of Grecian taste.

§ 236. Among the causes of the decline of Athens, was the establishment of the Alexandrian school, at the seat of Egyptian empire. The first Ptolemy began the celebrated library of Alexandria, which was greatly extended and enriched by his son and grandson. Here were assembled the philosophers, the poets, the orators, and the men of science, from all the shores of the Mediterranean. Here was the seat of commerce, and of royal splendour, whose chief honour was its patronage of the human mind. Here originated the eclectic school of philosophy, formed out of the western and eastern theories, by *selecting* from either, what its votaries approved.

§ 237. The most magnificent part of Alexandria was near the great harbour, and was called Bruction. This was the royal residence. Here was the academy, and the museum, and 400,000 volumes of the library, in an appropriate building; the residue 300,000 were in the temple of Jupiter Serapis, called the Serapion. In the siege of Alexandria by Julius Cæsar, a part of this library was destroyed. The remainder of it, with accessions to it, after that time, was utterly destroyed about the

year 389 of the Christian era. Theodosius the Roman emperor, having been converted to christianity, ordered all the pagan temples of the empire to be demolished. The magnificent Serapion was reduced, among others, to a heap of rubbish. In this fanatical exploit, the friends of learning lament the loss of nearly all the treasures which intellectual industry had been gathering through successive ages.

The last of the eleven sovereigns of Egypt, of the Ptolemy race, was the beautiful, profligate, and accomplished Cleopatra, who put herself to death (in the year 30) that she might not grace the triumphal entry of Octavius into Rome.

§ 238. For one hundred and fifty years after the death of Alexander, Greece underwent a variety of woes and afflictive revolutions; was divided into many factious communities, and suffered severely from the aspirations of the ambitious. Almost every species of cruelty was practised on the subjugated, and every vice by the successful. No names or events occur, in this space of time, which are worth mentioning, except the names of Pyrrhus king of Epirus, who was a very able general about the beginning of the third century, and whose principal exploits occurred in Roman history, wherein he will be again mentioned. And excepting also Philopœmen. He was born at Megalopolis, about the year 223 B. C., a city of Arcadia, which was the central state of the Peloponnesus. Several of the states and cities of this part of Greece, had formed themselves into a confederacy for mutual defence, under the name of the Achæan League, the state of Achaia being the principal member. The Spartans were not parties in this confederacy. The Messenians were, and revolted from it. They were assisted by the Spartans. Philopœmen was the military chief of the confederacy. He conquered the Spartans, and put an end to the laws of Lycurgus. They had been in force about seven hundred years. This distinguished man was called 'the last of the Grecians.' In a battle with the Messenians, he fell from his horse, and was taken by the enemy, who imprisoned him, and made him drink poison, about the year 188 B. C., at the age of seventy. On taking the cup he asked which party had the victory, and being answered his own party,

then said he, 'this is a comfortable drink.' Soon after, all Greece was subdued by the Romans. But even for two centuries after this, learning and philosophy still lingered in Greece, and young Romans were sent to Grecian cities to be educated, and especially to Athens.

§ 239. All around the Mediterranean we have already encountered the Romans as conquerors. Before engaging in a sketch of the rise, grandeur, and decline of these successors of the Greeks, we are to revisit Judea, and accompany the Jews from their return at the close of their seventy years of captivity, to the demolition of Jerusalem, and their final dispersion as a people, in the year 70 of the Christian era.

CHAPTER XVIII.

From the end of Jewish captivity, 536 years B. C., to the beginning of the Christian era.

§ 240. WE left the Israelites at the close of their seventy years of captivity, at Babylon, on the point of returning to Judea. This people were first known under the name of Hebrews, then as Israelites, then as subjects of the two separate kingdoms of Israel and Judah. From this time, they are called JEWS; a name given, not by themselves, but by others. They returned in the year 536 B. C. The number of men is stated at 42,360; these, with their families, may have amounted to 200,000.

§ 241. The territory of the Jews was now considered as a province appurtenant to the government (or satrapy) of Syria, as part of the Persian empire, but they were allowed to have their own laws, religion, and rulers. Ezra and Zerubbabel, were among those who returned. Soon after, Nehemiah, who appears to have been a man of great wealth and distinction, went to Jerusalem to aid in rebuilding the temple, and to re-establish the Mosaic dispensation. These objects were accomplished. But there seems to be some ground for the opinion, that the Jews had become disqualified to maintain this system of government. They had been exposed to the delusions of Chaldean priestcraft in their long residence in the east, and some writers suppose, that to this cause may be referred the origin of the sects of Sadducees and Pharisees. These, in after times, were very troublesome distinctions among the Jews.

§ 242. There is nothing in Jewish history worth stopping to notice, till Alexander of Macedon appeared in Judea. It will be remembered, that down to this time, Greece and Persia were almost continually engaged in warfare with each other, wherein the Jews do not appear to have been concerned. They were out of the course in which the tide of war ebbed and flowed, which was much to the north of their position. They were not

free from bitter contentions among themselves, for the honours of the priesthood. In this space of time they were free from foreign wars, and subject to Persia, but to no severe exactions. The annual pilgrimage and gift, which every Jew was obliged to make to the temple, accumulated a treasure; surpassing that of Solomon's time.

§ 243. About the year 331 B. C., Alexander visited Jerusalem, as conqueror; and was not resisted. Josephus says, (Book xi, ch. 8,) that while Alexander was besieging Tyre, he wrote to the high priest to send him auxiliaries and provisions. These were refused; and Alexander gave him to understand, that he would soon be at Jerusalem. Jaddua, the high priest, was much disturbed by this news. When this visitor was near, the high priest and his train, went out to meet him, clad in official dress of purple, scarlet, and fine linen; followed by a multitude in white garments. Jaddua, distinguished by his mitre, and bearing the plate of gold whereon the name of Jehovah was inscribed, was met by the conqueror and saluted with deepest reverence. Parmenio asked him, how it came to pass, that while all others adored him, he should adore the high priest of the Jews? He answered, that he did not adore the priest, but his God. He added, that he had seen the exact figure of this priest in a dream, when at Dios in Macedon, and was assured in that dream, that he should conquer the Persians. It is said of Alexander, that he had a convenient facility in adapting himself to the manners and prejudices of any country. Perhaps Napoleon, who turned Mussulman in Egypt, was not ignorant of Alexander's policy. The Jews were assured by him, that they should remain as they were, and be exempt from all taxation in the 'seventh year;' and that when he was master of Babylon, the Jews there, should be respected in like manner.

§ 244. After Alexander's empire had been divided among his generals, about 300 B. C., the Jews had, for northern neighbours, the Seleucidæ, (or Syrians,) successors of Seleucus; and the Ptolemies in Egypt. From the hostility of these two powers, and from their own factions and intestine wars, and from their own depravities, they were, probably, the most miserable people; for three hundred years, of which history gives account. At the close of this time, their proud city was

left without 'one stone upon another,' and themselves were scattered over the earth. It would be tedious and unprofitable, to detail Jewish events, during this long period. A few circumstances may be worth notice.

§ 245. Judea was subdued by Ptolemy Philadelphus about 316 B. C., and 100,000 Jews carried to Egypt as slaves. But Ptolemy relented, and restored the privileges of Judea. This was before the division of Alexander's empire had been settled, and while his generals were contending, because five years afterwards Antigonus, one of their number, got possession of Judea, and treated the Jews so tyrannically that great numbers of them fled to Egypt, and many into Syria. Thus they were harassed continually, on one side and the other, till about the year 200 B. C., when Antiochus, king of Syria, in consideration of their aid against one of the Ptolemies, granted them money, and other contributions towards rebuilding and adorning their temple, which had been several times pillaged. The only tranquil and prosperous period followed these events, and lasted perhaps twenty years. When the Jews had no foreign enemy to afflict them, they seem to have invented means of afflicting themselves. Their own contentions introduced the Syrians again, and another Antiochus, about the year 170, who plundered their temple, and resolved on exterminating their whole race, if he could not abolish their religion. He converted their holy temple into a place for the adoration of the Grecian Jupiter.

§ 246. Matthias, and his five sons, exasperated by these cruelties, and abominations, resisted; and established a dynasty of kings, who maintained themselves, through tremendous conflicts, 129 years. This was the reign of the Maccabees; so called from Judas, surnamed Maccabæus (the hammer) from his warlike character. This race were also called Asmoneans (illustrious.)

§ 247. By this time the Romans had found their way into Judea, and assisted to annihilate the power of the Maccabees, and then established their own. After several years of frightful crimes, and miseries, in the year 65 B. C., Herod, who was the son of an Arabian named Antipater, contrived to get himself made king of Judea, by the authority of the Romans. This man may claim precedence of all royal robbers, murderers, and low bred

villains, who have at any time appeared in the world. He is, nevertheless, called by historians, Herod the Great. It seems, that historians, who appear to be the authority from which this sort of distinction comes, pay no respect to virtues, or moral qualities, in deciding on the use of it. The command of great physical force, and the employment of it, for purposes of conquest and destruction, appear to be two elements of greatness. If such a person has filled his treasury, no matter by what means, and uses his money to build cities, this seems to constitute another element. In these respects Herod may have been great. He built Cæsarea, a city on the Mediterranean shore, 62 miles northwest of Jerusalem. It was here that Paul made Felix tremble. Cæsarea has long been a ruin, tenanted only by reptiles and birds of prey; and serving no useful purpose but as a marble quarry for building.

There were two or three women about Herod, named Salome, whom history notices. One of them was his sister, who ought to have been dignified with the title of great; for, if rightly represented, she was, probably, the greatest criminal that ever lived. There was a relative of Herod of the same name, (the dancer, called Herodias in scripture,) who procured the death of John the Baptist.

§ 248. In the thirty-third year of Herod's reign, the Saviour was born. A year or two afterwards Herod died of a most loathsome disease, which is minutely described by Josephus. When he knew that he must die, he commanded that all the principal men among the Jews, should be assembled at a place of public show called the Hippodrome; and no one dared to disobey this order. He told his wife, and chief officer, that he was resolved to put his whole kingdom in mourning, at his death; and as there would be no natural tears for him, that as soon as he died, the whole of the assembly in the Hippodrome should be put to death, so that there should be abundance of tears, as every family in Judea would weep. This order was not executed. There were two other Herods after him. Before the death of the third, a violent civil war, and revolt from the Romans occurred, and Vespasian came from Rome, with an army; and while before Jerusalem, being chosen emperor, he left the siege to the conduct of his son Titus; who on

the 7th of Sept. A. D. 70, erased Jerusalem from the face of the earth. This is the date of the dispersion of the Jews.

§ 249. The prominent events which occurred around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, from the creation to the christian era, have been noticed, though only in a rapid flight. Let us stop, and review the past, that we may the better understand the future.

It has been seen, that every community had necessarily some sort of government, in virtue of which one, a few, or many, could exercise power over the multitude, and over property, and the means of welfare. That all these communities have been subjected to revolutions, or to vindictive and bitter factions; and that all of them disappeared by some sort of violence; that the principal employment was war, and that men had been, in all ages, the relentless foes of each other, and striving to the utmost to plunder, destroy, and slaughter, or reduce to slavery.

§ 250. With the qualified exception among the descendants of Abraham, we have seen, everywhere, the perversion of the natural sentiment of religion; and the great mass of mankind in subjection to a small number of cunning and adroit dealers in absurd and shocking mysteries. We have seen nowhere, the exercise or influence of rational morals, except in the life and conduct of a few illustrious men, who were either feared or despised for their singularity.

§ 251. The philosophy which arose in Greece, and which attained to its best condition in the mind of Socrates, gradually extended its light, and disclosed, that the worship of such deities as Jupiter, Mars, Minerva, and Apollo, was the invention of priests; and that there must be some unknown and unapproachable power. The human mind could not discern the connection between that power, and human duty. For two or more centuries before the Christian era, even those restraints which heathen worship had imposed, had disappeared; and the services in the temples were scenes, wherein the most abominable depravity assumed the mysteries, which an exploded religion could no longer wear. In common life, every vice and every crime could flourish, if the hand of the executioner could be escaped.

§ 252. The easy and beautiful language of Greece had supplanted the difficult sounds, and more difficult characters, of primitive languages. It had become the medium of thought, throughout the nations which were then considered as constituting the world. Who can doubt, that if there could be a time when a new revelation was indispensable in the earth, it would be when earthly religions had lost their power, when moral perceptions were extinguished, and when the will of man was the only law he knew.

§ 253. It is a striking fact that in the reign of Herod, and before that time, an expectation prevailed throughout the east, that some great, though undefined revolution, was to occur among mankind. If this expectation had been limited to the depraved and suffering Jews, it might be referred to their prophetic writings. The evidence comes from sober and respected historians (who were not of that people) that this expectation was general. Caius Tranquillus Suetonius, a Roman historian who appeared about this time, says, 'There had been for a long time, all over the east, a constant persuasion, that it was in the fates, that *at that time*, some [person] who should come out of Judea, should obtain universal dominion.' Caius Cornelius Tacitus, a Roman historian of the same age, says, 'the generality had a strong persuasion that it was contained in the ancient writings of the priests, that, *at that very time*, the east should prevail, and that some, who should come out of Judea, should obtain the empire of the world.' Flavius Josephus, the historian of the Jews, was among the rebels against the Romans, when Jerusalem was destroyed. He is considered as having abandoned his faith as a Jew, and to have adhered to the conquerors, when he wrote. In speaking of this rebellion he says, 'That which chiefly excited the Jews to war, was an ambiguous prophecy, which was *also* found in the sacred books, that *at that time*, some one within their country, should arise, that should obtain the empire of the whole world.'

§ 254. It takes nothing from the fact of the existence of this general belief, that all three of these writers apply it to Vespasian, whose subjects they were, and who was elected emperor, while he was besieging Jerusalem. It is even insisted in order to make the application more

strong as to this emperor, that he actually wrought miracles, in restoring sight, and curing blindness.

§ 255. '*At this time,*' that person was born whose life and precepts have changed, and are going on to change, yet more and more, the condition of mankind. Figuratively, he will obtain the empire of the world, in that his religion will pervade the world. The general expectation, stated by these historians, must be understood in this sense, as it cannot be understood in any other.

§ 256. If one should reject all confidence in divine interposition as to human concerns, it is a remarkable historical fact (if any thing be true in history) and difficult to be accounted for, that Abraham should have left a land of idolatry 1900 years before the birth of this PERSON at *Bethlehem*, and that the lineal descent of this PERSON should be traced down through all the vicissitudes of Abraham's posterity. Certain it is, that Joseph the husband of Mary, and Mary herself, were both descended from Abraham and from Jesse, through David. To those who do give credit to the providence of God, and who do respect the evidence derived from prophecy, and Mosaic history, the coming of the Saviour admits of no doubt. Surely the world could, at no time, have so needed a Saviour, as in that in which he did come.

§ 257. It is not the purpose of these pages to sustain any religious theory, or doctrine; but only to show how the connection and course of events have changed the condition of mankind, from age to age. There will be occasion to show, in future pages, what effect the appearance of the son of Mary on earth, has had on human society. At present, it is only taken as a historical fact, sustained, however, by far more convincing evidence, than is found of any other, of like antiquity.*

* The following summary is copied from Calmet's dictionary of the Bible, edited by Professor Robinson, art. CHRIST.

'The ancient prophets had foretold, that the Messiah should be God and man, exalted and abased, master and servant, priest and victim, prince and subject; involved in death, yet victor over death; rich and poor; a king, a conqueror, glorious; a man of griefs, exposed to infirmities; unknown, in a state of abjection and humiliation. All these contrarieties were to be reconciled in the person of the Messiah; as they really were in the person of Jesus. It was known, that the Messiah was to be born, 1. of a virgin; 2. of the

§ 258. We have necessarily passed over the time when the Romans first appeared. We have met with them all around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, as a warlike and victorious people. We are now to consider them separately, and accompany them down to the time when they acquired the empire of the world. From that time, till they were themselves subdued, the history of the world is almost exclusively their history.

tribe of Judah ; 3. of the race of David ; 4. in the village of Bethlehem. That he was to continue forever, that his coming was to be concealed, that he was the great prophet promised in the law, that he was both the son, and Lord of David ; that he was to perform great miracles, that he should restore all things, that he should die, and rise again, that Elias should be the forerunner of his appearance, that the proof of his verity should be cure of lepers, life restored to the dead, and the gospel preached to the poor. That he should not destroy the law, but should perfect and fulfil it ; that he should be a stone of offence, and stumbling block, against which many should bruise themselves ; that he should suffer infinite oppositions, and contradictions ; that from his time, idolatry and impiety should be banished, and that distant people should submit themselves to his authority.'

CHAPTER XIX.

The Romans --- from their first appearance to the end of their monarchy, 506 B. C.

§ 259. How should it have happened, that the states of Greece, aided by a peninsular situation, speaking the same language, associated by the Olympic games, and the same religious worship, should exhibit, throughout their history, ferocious factions, and desolating wars? Perhaps this may be accounted for by the fact, that they had not the industrious occupations, which are founded in commerce; and that slaves were the only labourers, and that they were themselves restless in body, and mind. Such states might naturally be jealous of each other; they might, merely from the want of useful and commendable occupation, become rivals, and enemies. United, they might have defied the world, and might have obtained and held, as dependencies, all the countries then known. If they had not wasted their force in destroying each other, Rome might have appeared, in connection with Greece, only as a colony, or province. It will be seen, that it was destined to be itself an insignificant province of Rome.

§ 260. The history of the Romans, is not the history of many states, but of a single city gradually extending its limits, and its dominion, until it became the mistress of all known regions. Its inhabitants, as to slaves, absence of occupation, and consequent restlessness, and love of war, were like the Greeks. The factions, civil commotions, and bloody changes from one sort of despotism, to another, which were seen in many cities in Greece, occurred among the Romans, in one city. Their jealousies, rivalries and personal enmities, were spent on each other; their love of dominion on all nations, as well as among themselves. Conquest became a national passion. While one independent people remained, Rome had not done her duty to herself. Both these nations were, at times, great and glorious; both were, at

times, exceedingly miserable. Neither of them were, at any time, a happy people, for both of them were, at all times, strangers to rational religion, and sound morals.

§ 261. The city of Rome, the beginning of which cannot be certainly traced, still exists; and is likely to continue. It is even called the 'eternal city,' under the belief, that the remnants of its grandeur, and reverence for Roman names and deeds, will protect it from the desolation which has fallen on most other cities of like antiquity. It is situated in the peninsula of Italy, on the river Tiber, about twelve miles from the mouth of this river, which runs through it, and continues thence a south-western course to the Tuscan Sea. Its latitude about 42. north; (nearly the same as Boston.) Its longitude, nearly 30. east. Its site is now much less extensive than it was anciently. Modern Rome is rather on the northwest side of the river; ancient Rome was principally on the southeast side of the river, built on seven hills.

§ 262. This peninsula in climate, in variety of surface, and in natural fertility is one of the most pleasing parts of the globe. Its length, beginning at Rome, and going south-eastwardly to its extreme limit (into the Mediterranean) is about 350 miles; its average breadth south of Rome may be about 100 miles. A chain of mountains called the Appenines, runs through its whole length. The summits of these mountains are covered with snow, and ice, the greater portion of the year; but the valleys and plains from their proximity to the sea, experience neither the intense cold of winter, nor the enfeebling heat of summer. The clear and beautiful skies of Italy, serve as a standard for comparison of other climes. It is the most favoured region of the earth, for villas, and summer residence, in the felicity of rural retreats. Its natural productions are excellent and abundant. The vine and the olive flourish together. Its riches, in pastoral products were not surpassed; and it was the favourite region of the mulberry and the silk worm. It had the most favourable position as to surrounding seas, Greece only excepted. North-westwardly from Rome, the peninsula extends about 200 miles, and is perhaps 40 miles wider, than it is south of Rome.

§ 263. The origin of the Romans is unknown. The

first historical sketches of this people come, as in other cases, from their bards, or poets. As these knew no more of the earliest people of Italy than is now known, nor even so much, they, like other labourers in works of fancy, deduced the Romans from the gods, and from supernatural events. The true state of the case must be, that there were migrations from the east, in some unknown time and manner, through whom Italy was peopled with barbarous tribes. Some one of these, by fraud and force, gained an ascendancy over many, and united them into one community. As this end must have been accomplished by military power, the chief leader naturally became a king. Some fables are found in history, of two persons called Romulus and Remus, from the former of which the name of Rome is supposed to have been derived. How it was known, when authentic history begins, that there ever were two such persons, is not apparent. It is, at least, probable, that all the early history of the Romans, is entirely fabulous. It is believed, that so much of Roman history is derived from the work of Titus Livius, who was born at Padua 59 B. C., and who died there, at the age of 75. He is supposed to have devoted twenty years to his history. A small portion of his 140 books are now extant. Livius (usually called Livy) begins with the arrival of Æneas in Italy. This person, son of Anchises, a Trojan, fled from Troy, according to the Latin poet Virgilius (Virgil), and after divers surprising adventures, by sea and land, arrived in Italy, and was one of the founders of the Roman empire. Whatever facts this poet may have dealt in, the lovers of verse render due homage to his taste and fancy. A poet must have touched the cords of the human heart with a masterly hand, to have earned the applause of his own, and all future times; and whose works are read with delight in all nations which pretend to learning.

Passing by all the fables which are given of times preceding the monarchy of Rome, (that is leaving out all before Romulus, as too uncertain to be mentioned,) it is commonly assumed, that there were seven successive kings named Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullius Hostilius, Ancus Martius, Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, Tarquinius Superbus. That the first of these

began to reign in the year of the world about 3257; in the year of the building of the city, 1; and in the year B. C. 753. The last of them ceased to reign in about 506 B. C., comprising a space of about two hundred and forty-seven years. If so, the royal government ended in the time of Darius of Persia, and of his queen Esther; and just before the beginning of the wars between the Persians and Greeks; and soon after Pisistratus, in Athens.

§ 264. To these kings certain institutions are attributed. Romulus is supposed to have settled all the forms and ceremonies of religion. There were priests, among whom were Haruspices, who ascertained the will of the gods, by inspecting the entrails of animals slain at the altar; and augurs, who obtained the like information, from watching the flight and actions of birds and of chickens. In this reign happened the forcible carrying away of the Sabine women, by the Romans, who were in want of wives. By this king, domestic relations were established, and absolute power given to fathers over their children, even to the taking of life. It is said that there was no instance of parricide in ten centuries; and only one of divorce, in six centuries, among the Romans. But how these things were known to be so, does not appear. Numa Pompilius is highly applauded as a king. He strengthened the priesthood; and raised a temple to the god Terminus, to protect rights of property, and made it an infamous crime to remove landmarks. His most commendable act was the consecration of a temple to the god Janus, who had two faces, looking in opposite directions. This was intended to be emblematical of the prudence which should be observed, in deciding on war. If all that is said of Numa, or one half of it, be true, he was one of the best of men, and, undoubtedly, the best king, that ever lived. He has been much celebrated in works of fancy.

§ 265. It was in this reign, that the heroic and affecting combat occurred between the three brothers Horatii, and the three brothers Curiatii, as a substitute for a battle between the armies of their respective nations. This story is told seven centuries after the combat, with as much exactness, as to what was said and done, as though the historian (Livy) had been there to see and hear for himself. The sister of the victor (one of the Horatii,

of the Roman side) was affianced to one of the Curiatii. Seeing in the possession of her surviving brother, a trophy, wrought with her own hands, for her lover, she burst into tears, and reproached him with his cruelty. Whereupon he slew her; for which he was condemned; but the people interposed, and saved his life.

§ 266. The accounts given of the events of the monarchy, in that early age, are so improbable, that they hardly merit to be repeated. They may be read as works of imagination; but they ought not to be treated of as authentic history, which at best, in ancient days, is entitled to no more respect as to truth, than Homer's *Iliad*, and Virgil's *Æneid*. There is one fable well worth noticing, as it is often alluded to. In the reign of the last of the kings, (Tarquin the Proud,) an old woman, an unknown foreigner, appeared, and presented to Tarquin, nine books. She was called a sybil, and the books sybilline. She demanded an exorbitant price for them. It was refused. She retired, and burnt three of the books; and returning, demanded the same price for the remaining six. It was again refused. She retired, a second time, and burnt three more; and again presenting herself to Tarquin, demanded the same price for the remaining three. The price was paid. The sybil commended her books to the faithful guardianship of the king, then disappeared, and was seen no more. These books proved to be worth the money. At first, two persons, and afterwards fifteen, were appointed to keep them. These persons, and none others, were allowed to read them. It is not surprising, that in all emergencies of the Romans, these oracular volumes were found to contain precisely the information, which it was indispensable for the *people* to have.

§ 267. It is stated, that a building was erected, about this time, at Rome, whether for the purpose of making a place for the deposit, or not, of the sybilline books, (or leaves) does not appear. This building was two hundred feet long, as many high, and almost as many broad. It contained three temples, one dedicated to Jupiter, one to Juno, one to Minerva. The books were put into a stone chest, and deposited in a vault in this building. This circumstance may not have been worth mentioning, if it were not, that it is supposed to show the origin of the

word *capitol*. The head of a person whose name was Tulus, (who had been buried two hundred years!) was found, while digging for the foundation, bleeding as fresh as though it had just been severed from the body. From this fact, the place was called *caput-toli*,* which soon became *capitol*. Historians do not inform us, how this bleeding head was known to be that of Tulus.

§ 268. The tragical end of the Tarquins, is narrated with all the gravity of history, comprising all the details. A son of Tarquin the Proud, committed a most shocking outrage on Lucretia, the daughter of Brutus, and wife of Collatinus. Lucretia was then at a country residence. She came to Rome next day, and disclosed the wrong done by young Tarquin; and unable to survive her disgrace, she plunged a dagger into her own heart. Her bleeding person was borne to the presence of the assembled people. Vengeance was sworn against the Tarquins. A civil war ensued, and after divers bloody conflicts, the race of Tarquins was exterminated, and with them, the monarchy. Brutus exacted of the Romans a solemn oath, that they would never again be ruled by a king.

* Head of Tulus.

CHAPTER XX.

The Romans, from the end of the monarchy, 506 B. C. to the taking and burning of Rome by the Gauls, under Brennus, in the year 390 B. C.

§ 269. The Romans substituted two consuls, annually elected by the people, for a king. The two first consuls were the same Lucius Junius Brutus, and his son-in-law, Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus. The friends of the expelled royal family, made an effort to restore them. (Precisely the same sort of effort has just been made in France.) Two sons of Brutus were among the conspirators who desired to restore the Tarquins. Being detected, they were brought before Brutus, who, putting off the *father*, that he might act the *consul*, ordered them to be beheaded, and sat and saw the execution, without betraying the least sensibility. This is called a fine example of patriotism, and magnanimity. Brutus and his son-in-law did not agree in their official relation; he caused Collatinus to be removed, and Valerius, surnamed Publicola, or the popular, to be chosen.

§ 270. The Tarquins, like the Bourbons, and the Stuarts of England, were not disposed to give up the throne. They engaged neighbouring nations, who feared and hated the Romans, to wage war for them. In a battle, Brutus and one of the Tarquins met, and had the satisfaction of killing each other. Valerius returned to Rome in a car drawn by four horses, which is, probably, the beginning of the Roman triumphs. An oration was made over the dead body of Brutus. This is said to be the first instance of that sort of honour. The wars of the Tarquins were continued through several years; and they were enabled to disturb the peace of Rome, by the plots of their partisans. The people were influenced in their favour, and could only be restrained by severity. They were debtors to the higher classes; and the law of debtor and creditor was severe, and rigorously enforced. The anarchy became such, that an absolute au-

thority, civil, military, and religious, was necessarily reposed in one man, who acted under the name of Dictator. Titus Lartius was the first officer of this name.

§ 271. The Tarquins having been entirely vanquished, other wars arose. The people, oppressed at home, and expecting no benefit from any victories, were disinclined to fight. They took their standards, which their religion forbade them to abandon, and retired to a mountain three miles from Rome, since called Mons Sacer (sacred mount.) This event gave rise to the well known fable of the mutual dependence of the stomach, and the members. The people gained, in this controversy, the abolition of debts, and the appointment of an officer from among themselves, called a Tribune of the people, whose exclusive business it was, to take care of their interests.

§ 272. The population of Rome appears to have been divided, at this time, into two classes, the rich and noble, who were called *patrician*, a word derived from the Latin *pater*, (father,) and as such they had the lands, and houses; and the other class were plebeians, from the Latin word *plebs*, (people). The interests of these two classes were much opposed to each other. The tribunes protected and encouraged the people, against the patricians. Great disorders arose, which the tribunes secretly, and even openly, abetted. Coriolanus, (whose story is, at this day, one of the popular dramas) was a patrician. He rendered great public services. The tribunes were jealous of him, and he was indignant at their usurpations. At length, he was accused of misconduct in his office of military chief, and condemned to perpetual exile. He returned to his house, where his mother, Veturia, and his wife, Volumnia, were in tears. 'I have no mother,' said he, 'no wife, no children; I abjure them all, even to my domestic gods!'—He departed, and went to the Volsci. He led this people against Rome, and took severe vengeance. When Rome trembled before Coriolanus, and repeated embassies failed to soften him, his mother, wife, and children, and a train of Roman matrons were sent as suppliants. The whole of this scene is represented, in history, with the like precision, in which it appears on the stage. The very speeches, and attitudes are given, as though historians had been spectators. It is unfeeling to doubt the existence of so touching an

event; or to question whether Coriolanus did actually say, 'Oh! my mother! You have disarmed me! You have saved Rome! but you have lost your son!' It is quite reasonable, that this event should have been followed by the consecration of a temple 'to the Fortune of women,' and that Veturia should have been the first priestess; and not less so, that the Volsci should have caused Coriolanus to be assassinated.

§ 273. History of ancient times, derives some support from seeing how modern scenes, and motives, agree with its details. Cassius, a patrician consul, being mortified by a refusal of the senate to grant him a triumph, proposed the agrarian law, which name is derived from the word *agrarius*, relating to fields, or lands. When lands were conquered, they belonged to the public. The patricians usually got possession of them, to the exclusion of the plebeians. (The object of agrarian laws was an equalization of property, in the conquered lands.) The tribunes disliked the measure, because it came from a patrician, and not from themselves. They then took up this matter, and compelled the senate to agree to appoint ten men, (Decemvirs) to make the division. They also caused Cassius to be accused of treason, before the people, who condemned him to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock. This was a mode of execution. This rock was part of the eminence, on which the capitol stood. It was eighty feet in perpendicular height. The condemned were thrown from the summit. The senate delayed to nominate decemvirs, and resorted to an expedient, well known in these days, that of provoking a new war. The people declining to engage in this, the family of the Fabii, in number about three hundred, undertook to do the fighting. All the Fabii fell but one, a youth of eighteen.

§ 274. The contests about the agrarian law continued, and another of greater importance was added. The tribunes demanded, that the administration of justice should no longer be conducted by the consuls; and that the laws should be written, and published, that the people might compare them with judgments. Such confusion ensued, that it was again necessary to resort to a Dictator. The choice fell on Quinctius Cincinnatus. The messengers sent to announce his new dignity, found him in his field,

ploughing. He restored order, reinstated the government, and returned to his plough.* He was a second time called to the same office. In sixteen days he restored order at Rome, and compelled the Æqui, and the Volsci, to pass under 'the yoke,'† and again retired. Cincinnatus is supposed to have resigned his second dictatorship, in the year of the world 3547, or about 457 B. C.

§ 275. The next great change in Roman affairs, was the appointment of decemvirs to form a new code of laws. A copy of those of Solon was sent for, to Athens. Supreme power was given to these magistrates. A most afflictive tyranny ensued, conducted principally by a person named Appius. Among the romantic stories of this time, is the death of Virginia, by the hand of her own father, in the presence of Appius, while seated on the tribunal in the character of judge. Appius had conceived a passion for this daughter of Virginius, and was sitting as magistrate to condemn her to one Claudius, a creature of his own, whom he had instructed to claim her as a slave. The act of Virginius was to save his child from Appius. The sensitive Romans then abolished the decemvirs, whose power had continued about nine years.

§ 276. The events of revolutionary factions, in tumultuous Rome, may be imagined, from the foregoing events. It so continued, for sixty years. About 387 B. C., the Gauls, or barbarians, from the regions north of Italy, made their appearance at Rome, under Brennus, who was asked by the Romans by what right he came? He answered, 'My right I carry at the point of my sword. All things belong to the brave.' The Romans, being unable to resist, deserted the city. The senators alone remained. Dressed in their official robes, they awaited the Gauls in the senate chamber. Their dress, their majesty, their silence, caused them to appear to the Gauls as so many gods. A Gaul, who dared to touch the beard of Marcus Papirius, was struck by him on the

* The officers of the revolutionary war formed a society, on their retiring to private life, the name of which is borrowed from this Roman Cincinnatus.

† The yoke was made by sticking two javelins in the ground, which supported two others, the points of which crossed. It was through this that the vanquished passed.

head with his ivory rod. The charm was thus broken, and a massacre of the senators followed, from which no one of this dignified assembly escaped.

§ 277. Who was present and survived, to give the history of this remarkable event, except the Gauls themselves, there is no account. How the Gauls knew the name of the senator whose beard was dishonoured by a barbarian's touch, (if they are the source of history on this occasion,) is not disclosed. Rome was now reduced to a heap of ashes, except the capitol, or citadel, which was situated on a rocky eminence. A portion of the Roman soldiery had shut themselves up in this place, under the command of one named Manlius. In the silence of night, the Gauls had climbed up the steep sides of this fortress, and were on the very point of taking it, as the Romans within, not supposing such an enterprise practicable, were asleep. There was no watch but the geese, and these proved to be faithful. They gave the alarm in season, and Manlius rushing to the wall, precipitated the assailants to its base. Geese were afterwards held sacred by the Romans; but the dogs in the capitol, who had honestly followed the example of their masters, were ever after held to be infamous.

§ 278. Meanwhile a young Roman named Camillus, who was then an exile from Rome, gathered the scattered citizens, and soon drew around the city, a force sufficient to shut up, and besiege the Gauls, who were besieging Manlius and his forces, in the capitol. Both the besieged parties finding their condition to be growing troublesome from the want of provisions, entered into a treaty, by which the Gauls were to retire from Rome, and from Italy, on receiving 1000 pounds weight of gold. The Gauls furnished the scales; and while the process of weighing was going on, a Roman named Sulpitius, complained that the scales were unjust, and that they gave an undue advantage to the Gauls. Whereupon Brennus, their chief, threw his sword among the weights in the scale, and demanded that the gold should balance that also. At this moment, Camillus, who had found his way into the city, came among the parties who were thus engaged, and ordered the gold to be taken from the scales, and carried back to the capitol; and addressing Brennus, 'Rome,' said he, 'is to be redeemed-

ed by iron, not by gold.' Both parties immediately prepared for conflict; a desperate battle ensued in which the Gauls were mostly destroyed, and the remaining few chased out of Italy.

§ 279. Camillus rose to high honours among the Romans. In the wars which were carried on against the surrounding nations, he was the successful party in many hard fought battles. It was already a part of Roman policy to subdue the tribes which then peopled Italy, and reduce them to slavery; or, to force them to acknowledge themselves to be allies of the Romans, and obliged to aid in their wars; a condition which proved to be little preferable to slavery. Camillus gained one victory in an easier mode than by fighting for it. While he was besieging the city of the Falerii, (about 15 miles north of Rome,) a schoolmaster who had children of the besieged under his care, took them outside the walls for air and exercise. Thinking to recommend himself to Camillus, he conducted these children to the Roman camp, and gave them up as prisoners. But Camillus ordered the schoolmaster's hands to be tied behind him; and then furnished each boy with a rod, and told them to whip their master back to their parents. The grateful Falerii immediately surrendered to the Romans, and were allowed the honour of being ranked as allies.

CHAPTER XXI.

From the rebuilding of the city after its destruction by the Gauls, in 391 B. C., to conquest of the whole of Italy by the Romans in 264 B. C.

§ 280. THE battles which occurred in these one hundred and twenty-seven years, are described through many pages in historical books. The Romans were sometimes beaten, and sustained the loss of great numbers of their citizens, and of some distinguished military chiefs. At the end of this lapse of time, they had made themselves masters of the whole of the peninsula of Italy. The most severe conflicts occurred in these one hundred and twenty-seven years, with the Samnites, a nation who inhabited the territory eastwardly of the ridge of the Apennines, and extending to the sea; and with the Campanians, southwardly of Rome towards Naples; and with the inhabitants of the city of Tarentum, at the southern end of Italy. It cost the Romans sixty years of hard warfare to conquer the Samnites. The affair of the 'Caudine forks' occurred in this war. A Roman army had been led by the treachery of a guide into a place in the mountains, which was accessible by a narrow pass at each extremity. When the army came to the space through which they were to leave this valley in the mountains, they found it blocked up and guarded so that it was impassable. Returning to the place of entrance they found that also, blocked and guarded in like manner. The whole army was thus at the mercy of the Samnites. An aged chief among this people was sent to for an opinion as to the most expedient measures to be then taken. He advised that the Romans should all be put to death where they were, or treated with the utmost generosity and allowed to depart. Neither measure was adopted, but the Romans were required to pass out of their bondage under 'the yoke,' stripped of their arms, baggage, and garments, and subjected to the derision of their captors. It may well be anticipated, that

such treatment of Romans was afterwards retaliated with sufferings which they well knew how to inflict.

§ 281. The only other warlike movement which may be worth noticing, in this lapse of time, is that with the Romans and Pyrrhus. The people of Tarentum were the last to be subdued on the south-eastern part of Italy. Knowing that they could not resist the Romans, they applied to Pyrrhus, then king of Epirus, on the opposite coast of Greece. This person had acquired great renown as a warrior in the wars of the east, and was one of those profitable adventurers to historians who deal extensively in the details of war. He considered himself a second Alexander; and was like him a bold and restless military leader, but not like him, successful.

§ 282. He was gratified by an invitation to measure his generalship with the Romans. While deliberating on this proposal, his counsellor, Cineas, who had been a pupil of Demosthenes, a scholar and sensible man, asked Pyrrhus how he could benefit himself by a conflict with the Romans. Pyrrhus answered, 'I shall take Rome itself.' 'And what then?' 'Then we will conquer Sicily.' 'And what next?' 'We will pass over into Africa.' 'And what next?' 'Then,' said Pyrrhus, 'we will sit down and enjoy ourselves.' 'And what prevents your doing that now?' said Cineas. This could not be done, by Pyrrhus. He went over to Italy with a large force, and spent six years in fighting with the Romans.

§ 283. The Romans sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus, and among them Fabricius. This person appears to be such a one as is meant when 'a Roman' is spoken of, in reference to severe virtue. Fabricius was a poor man, and Pyrrhus attempted in vain to corrupt him with money. As the Romans were at this time ignorant of elephants, as part of the machinery of an army, Pyrrhus placed one behind a screen in his tent, and while Fabricius sat there conversing, the screen was suddenly withdrawn, and the elephant moved his proboscis around the head of Fabricius. But the elephant and the gold were alike incompetent to move him. Soon after, the physician of Pyrrhus offered to Fabricius to poison Pyrrhus, if he could be suitably rewarded. Fabricius informed Pyrrhus of this offer, in a dignified letter; and afterwards received, as a present, a chair, the seat of which was covered with the physician's skin.

§ 284. The Romans, unaccustomed to contend against elephants, were, at first, severely beaten; but in the end they were such apt scholars in adopting all improvements in discipline, which they saw their foes practise, that 20,000 of them vanquished 80,000 of the troops of Pyrrhus. He was compelled to return to Epirus, with the remnant, and abandon the contest. After engaging in other wars, he at last took part against the Spartans; and failing to conquer their city, entered that of Argos. In a street battle in this place, a woman, seeing from a house top that Pyrrhus was in the act of slaying her son, threw a tile upon him, and killed him. This occurred 272 years B. C. This short sketch of wars sufficiently shows the character of the times in this respect, and the motives which led to any one battle, and the conduct of it on both sides, show what all controversies of this nature must have been.

§ 285. The military movements of these one hundred and twenty-seven years, having given the Romans the absolute possession of all Italy, we will advert to such events in Rome, as may be worth noticing in this space of time. If there be any thing in Roman history which is peculiarly instructive to American citizens, it is to be found in the one hundred and twenty-seven years which we are now considering, and in the next two hundred and twenty years; at the end of which the whole of the known world except India and China, and the territories of barbarous nations, was subjected to a Roman monarch.

§ 286. Returning to the time when Camillus expelled the Gauls, (about 390 B. C.,) the Romans employed themselves, though still engaged in war, in re-building their city. It is a clear indication of the feelings of surrounding people, that they seized on the moment of humiliation, to break from their relation of conquered, or dependant communities. It however proved, that Rome always re-appeared still more powerful after every defeat. Rome rose from its ashes less splendid, less regular, and without regard to the course of the drains, (said to have been large enough for a cart-load of hay to move in,) second only to the great roads, and aqueducts, which no modern nation has attempted to equal. No city was

ever supplied, before or since, with water so excellent and so abundant.

§ 287. From the re-building of Rome to the fall of the empire, history assumes a more defined character. Fable loses its importance, and one begins to trace in Roman events, the reality of human motives. Ambition, envy, selfishness, and the thirst for distinction, are plainly seen in the common occurrences. The means of gratifying these impulses were *there*, and diligently used. Then, as now, such motives to action were prolific in sorrow to those who felt them. But the mournful aspect of these times, is sometimes relieved by the splendour of virtue, in some individuals; and that which seems to distinguish Romans from other people, is, that individual cravings were forgotten, and lost, in the devotion to the glory of Rome. As to instances of patriotism, and individual worth of character, Camillus was an illustrious example. Wise, forbearing, brave, magnanimous, he seemed to live only to be great and useful. In the second allusion to Roman character, whatever may have been the bitter contentions at home, all could unite to defend, or conquer, as to all the rest of mankind.

§ 288. Soon after Rome was rebuilt, these seem to have been the divisions among its inhabitants: 1. The noble or patrician rank, deriving their distinction from early times; rich and arrogant, and claiming of right, the senatorial and consular dignity, the administration of justice, and the command of the armies. 2. The plebeians, who were in general poor, dependant, and debtors to the rich. The latter had ceased to acquiesce in the distinctions of the former. Some of the plebeians had become rich, and some patrician families poor, and some had become connected by marriage with plebeians. There was a multitude who were called the people. They had not regular vocations, and daily industry, for the slaves were the artificers and labourers. This lounging multitude gathered in the temples, and other places of public resort, to hear, and to talk, of what Romans had done, were doing, and intended to do. For this multitude were, in fact, the sovereigns of Rome. To them was the final appeal from all acts of the senate, and of the consuls, excepting only, when their own turbulence and sedition demanded the tyranny of a Dictator.

§ 289. There could be no more profitable field for the selfish, the envious, the malicious, and the aspiring, than Rome. Disappointed patricians courted the people, defined their claims, and led them to seek their accomplishment. The patricians possessed the conquered lands by usage. The laws of debtor and creditor were severe. The people were often dependant on supplies from the public granaries. Hence we see ambitious patricians courting the people, and insisting for them, on equal division of spoils, feeding the multitude, demanding abolition of debtor laws, and equal rights for them with the exalted. Hence also are seen plebeians who had grown rich, demanding to be senators, consuls, and chiefs of the military force. Patrician females, who had married into the lower class, were restless, and indignant, that their husbands were excluded from office. These fermenting elements convulsed Rome, arrested the course of government, and produced anarchy and confusion. Popular leaders were sometimes the victims of their own plots.

§ 290. In this state of affairs even the dictatorship of Camillus was unavailing, and he besought the senate to agree that one of the consuls should be chosen from the plebeians. They reluctantly assented. Other compromises followed, a new order of officers arose. Here begins the amalgamation of ranks, which in a course of years blended all popular distinctions. Tranquillity was restored, and Rome was again at leisure to attend to her favourite employment, that of extending her empire. The virtuous Camillus built, as he had vowed to do, his temple to Concord. He closed his good and honourable life in his eighty-second year, not as one would wish that Camillus should die, but as one of the victims of pestilence that visited Rome, (B. C. 365.)

§ 291. It is a curious fact, that during all these times the Romans were under the most absurd superstitions. They could enter on no serious employment without first inspecting the entrails of beasts, watching the number and flight of birds, and relying on the appetite of their chickens for food. Soothsaying, and constructions of the sybilline leaves, were often decisive in the most serious affairs. Thus it is gravely related, that a certain battle could not be gained, unless one of the consuls devoted himself to death. Accordingly, one of them threw away

his arms, dressed himself in pontifical robes, mounted his horse, and rushed bare-headed among the enemy. Victory to the Romans, was the certain consequence, but from very natural causes. In another case : a great chasm in the ground, within the Forum, was opened by some supernatural agency. All attempts to fill it up were abortive. The augurs pronounced that it never could be closed until the most precious things in Rome were thrown into it. A distinguished Roman, called Curtius, put on his armour, mounted his horse, and declaring that nothing was more precious than patriotism and military virtue, plunged into the gulf and was seen no more. No one can doubt that the chasm was immediately closed; and so historians gravely say it was. This story gives some data on which to calculate the value of ancient annals.

CHAPTER XXII.

The three wars between Rome and Carthage, usually called the Punic wars, and the conquests of Rome from 264 to 147 B. C.

§ 292. THE victories of the Romans had brought them to the shores on all the parts of Italy which the sea visits. There was no more for them to conquer but the barbarians in the north, unless they sought new conquests beyond their shores. Hitherto, their riches were mostly derived from the soil. They had no ships; no commerce. They were strangers to maritime warfare. The nearest land to them was the rich and extensive island of Sicily, situated south-westwardly of the extreme south-west point of Italy, and separated from this, by the straits of Messina, of different widths, the narrowest not more than three miles. Sicily was, at this time, partly possessed by ancient Grecian colonies, and partly by a people whom we have not had occasion hitherto to mention.

§ 293. Carthage was an African city, said to have been founded by Dido, who was the daughter of Belus, king of Tyre, and the wife of Sichæus, her uncle, a priest of Hercules. Pygmalion, the successor of Belus, murdered this priest, to obtain his immense riches. Dido fled, and went to Africa, 869 B. C., and there built this famous city. Virgil is charged with an error as to time, in supposing Æneas to have found Dido in Carthage immediately after the fall of Troy, which must have been three hundred years earlier. But one would reluctantly disturb the charming story of the absorbing, but tragic passion of Dido for the Trojan fugitive. Carthage, under the effects of enriching commerce, had become a splendid city, at the time (264 B. C.) when Rome was compelled to look beyond her own shores, for new scenes of glory. This city was situated on the northern coast of Africa, (near the present city of Tunis,) about twelve hundred miles a little to the north of west from Alexandria; eight hundred miles east of the straits of Gibraltar; one hundred and twenty miles south-west of Sicily; three

hundred and twenty miles nearly south from Rome, across the Mediterranean. The kingdom of Numidia was westwardly of Carthage, and that of Mauretania west of that. The present city of Algiers was near the partition line between these two kingdoms. The walls of Carthage were twenty-four miles in extent; the walls which extended from the city to the port, were twenty-one miles in length.

§ 294. The Romans wanted Sicily, because it was rich in fruits, corn, and wine. They were never at a loss for a cause of war. Part of Sicily was held by king Hiero, at this time. His chief city was Syracuse. The Romans made a league with Hiero, to expel the Carthaginians from the island; and then declared war, on the pretence that they favoured Pyrrhus, while he was in Italy. As this new enemy depended on its fleets, and Rome had no ships, they took a Carthaginian vessel, that a storm had cast ashore, for a model, and soon built a hundred. While their ships were building, they exercised their soldiers with oars on land, so placed as to be used in like manner as in ships. Duilius, who commanded the first Roman fleet, knowing the superiority of his enemy in naval management, and their inferiority in the familiar modes of warfare on land, invented a sort of platform, which could be thrown over from a Roman vessel, so as to grapple a vessel of the Carthaginians, and thus reduce the contest to a mere land battle. In his first essay, he gained a victory, which so elated the Romans, that they gave him a triumph, and ordered that a band of music should attend him whenever he went out to sup.

§ 295. The Romans sent Manlius and Regulus, with a fleet of 140,000 men, to carry on the war in Africa. The fleet of Carthage was destroyed. Manlius was ordered to return to Sicily, and Regulus to land in Africa. He approached Carthage triumphantly. Carthage was in despair, and sent to Sparta for a general. Xantippus came. A battle ensued, Regulus was defeated, and taken prisoner. This Roman was one of the most distinguished among the Eminent. While conducting this war, he asked the senate to permit him to go home, because his slave had carried off his farming utensils, and his family would suffer. His farm comprised seven acres, and was cultivated by his own labour. The senate refused

his request, and directed that his family should be maintained at the public expense.

§ 296. Regulus was in a jail four years. Then Carthage, and the Romans, being equally desirous of peace, the former sent ambassadors, and Regulus with them, on his promise to return, if peace were not made. He refused to enter Rome, or see his family. The senate, as was usual, received the ambassadors outside the walls. The conference was pacific on both sides. When Regulus was asked his opinion, he advised to the continuance of the war; and his advice prevailed. No entreaties would induce him to see his wife and children. He returned. The Carthaginians cut off his eye-lids, and exposed him to a burning sun; and finally enclosed him in a cask perforated with nails. He so died, miserably, in the year 251 B. C.

§ 297. The Romans permitted his wife to torture the Carthaginian captives; and this matron was so ingeniously cruel, that the senate were obliged to interpose. Nothing is known of the Carthaginians but through Roman history. If they are justly dealt with therein, they were a most ungrateful, corrupt, and perfidious people. They are said to have been mortified, that a Spartan should have saved them; and treated him so offensively, that he asked to be sent home. A vessel was despatched with him; but the mariners were ordered to throw him into the sea, with all his suite, that it might not be told in Greece, that Carthage was saved by a stranger. If these things were so, one cannot feel much commiseration for this people, in the fate that remained for them, in their future contests with Rome. But it should be remembered that Romans tell the story of Carthage.

§ 298. This war was protracted twenty-four years. The Romans found themselves indifferent mariners; and suffered great losses from the perils of the sea, and from ignorance of the coasts, and currents; and were successful only when they could grapple, and avail themselves of their accustomed mode of battle. This, their enemy learned to avoid. Peace, after various fortunes, was agreed on, with hard terms to Carthage, and with great gain of territory in the Mediterranean isles, and considerable tribute on the part of the Romans. At the end of this war, Rome was at peace with all the world; and

the temple of Janus was closed, for the first time since the building of the city, five hundred and thirteen years.

§ 299. An inveterate enmity had grown up between Carthage and Rome; and both parties were preparing for the display of it. Spain was, at this time, occupied by barbarous tribes, and some colonies. The city of Saguntum, in Spain, was under the protection of Rome. Carthage had a colony in Spain. Experience had taught Carthage, that it must prepare to resist the Romans on land. Spain seems to have been chosen for the place of its military schooling. Amilcar, of Carthage, was the military chief in Spain. He had sworn his four sons to eternal enmity to Rome; among whom was Hannibal and Hanno. Amilcar having been assassinated, Hannibal, at the age of twenty-five, succeeded to the command. Meaning to provoke a war with Rome, he besieged Saguntum eight months; and on the point of taking it, its inhabitants burnt it, with all its wealth, and themselves also.

§ 300. This youthful general, (not then twenty-six years of age,) conceived and executed an enterprise, which has been a subject of admiration to military men, from that day to this. It was winter. His army was not made up of men who had a country of their own, to respond to their glorious achievements. They were a motley combination of many nations. There was no bond of union among them, but that wonderful charm which military genius can cast over multitudes. We see this in Alexander, and others who are to be mentioned. We *know* it in Napoleon. This astonishing Hannibal, who had no military glory running in his blood, and who had no Homer to study, and no renowned countrymen to imitate, departed from Spain, to fight his way through Gaul, and to seek a pass-way over the Alps, with 90,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, at the very season of the year, when winter had added all its embarrassments to difficulties insurmountable, in any season, to most other men. The fables which are told, in history, of heating granite precipices with fallen forests, and rending rocks with vinegar, are unworthy of the conception and execution of Hannibal's exploits. He found his way, by daring efforts, and military tact, but at severe cost, since he numbered but 20,000 of his 90,000 foot, and but 6,000

of his 12,000 horse, when he reached the plains of Italy. Personally, it was a costly effort; for, either in his exposure on the Alps, or soon after, he was bereft of one of his eyes, by disease.

§ 301. His presence in Italy seemed to confound the Romans. They had just before numbered the men in Italy who were capable of bearing arms, and they were found to be nearly 800,000. This enumeration was preparatory to repelling the Gauls, a common cause to all Italians. It seemed to be otherwise in repelling this unexpected visitor. Rome seems to have been paralyzed in its councils; and Hannibal, after some well-fought battles, found his way to the south-eastern part of Italy, where the scenes of his warfare principally occurred. With a comparatively small band, he maintained himself, without reinforcements of troops, and without the aid of money, from Carthage, sixteen years. In this space of time he displayed the ingenuity and tact in military science, which secure to him the first rank among all the warriors that are known in history.

§ 302. In 217 B. C., the battle of Thrasymene was fought, in which Hannibal was eminently victorious. His greatest battle was that of Cannæ, fought on the twenty-first of May, 216 B. C. Cannæ was a village south-eastwardly of Rome, about two hundred miles, and near the north-eastern shore of Italy. Hannibal is supposed to have increased his army to 40,000 foot, and 10,000 horse.—If so, probably from among the disaffected to Rome. In this battle, he is stated to have slain 40,000 of the Romans, and one of the two consuls, who commanded them. There were counted among the slain, 5630 Roman knights, from whom were taken three pecks of gold rings, which were sent, among the trophies, to Carthage. This profusion of golden ornaments, seems to be inconsistent with the humble poverty of Regulus.

§ 303. Hannibal has been blamed, and defended, on the point that he ought, immediately after this battle, to have forced his way into Rome. He only approached within a few miles of it; and after hovering around it for a time, retired to Capua, in Campania, where he took up his winter abode, about twelve miles north of Naples. Capua was the ancient city of Vulturnum. It was called another Rome. Its population 800,000; its amphithea-

tre capable of containing 100,000. It is situated in a beautiful region, and its inhabitants were familiar with the most luxurious indulgence. One winter of repose and pleasure, enfeebled the warriors of Hannibal. The first general of all the ages of the world, was never again a conqueror. He returned to an ungrateful country; was a fugitive, a suppliant, and died by his own hand.

§ 304. The Romans, notwithstanding these defeats; sent an army against the city of Syracuse, in Sicily, the year after the battle of Cannæ, under the command of Marcellus. Sicily is nearly in the form of a triangle, one side of which is towards the east. On this side, and south of the middle of it, was Syracuse, a city anciently founded by a Greek colony from Corinth. At this time, 215 B. C., it was rich, populous, and well fortified. Here dwelt, at that time, the celebrated Archimedes. The walls of the city were on the edge of the sea, so that the Roman galleys could come close to them. Archimedes invented some sort of machinery, of such astonishing power, that it could be used from the walls, and so applied as to grapple a Roman galley, lift it in the air, and dash it against the rocks. He invented, also, other machinery, by which stones of enormous size were sent, a long distance, among the ranks of the Romans; and also the means of concentrating the rays of the sun upon the Roman fleet, so as to set it on fire. In 212 B. C., Syracuse was taken, and a common soldier killed this eminent man, not knowing who he was. The knowledge of these inventions perished with him, and it is not even conjectured what they were.

§ 305. It was the common policy of Rome, when invaded in its own territories, to send the war into the country of its enemy. The young Publius Cornelius Scipio, who had won the highest honours in Spain, was entrusted with the command of the forces. His appearance in Africa, terrified Carthage, and occasioned the recall of Hannibal, who left Italy (which he had so nearly mastered, and where he had many sad recollections to avenge,) with tearful sorrow. He discerned the condition of Carthage, and its incompetency to contend with the Romans. The only resource seemed to be negotiation; and he sought an interview with Scipio.

§ 306. The two first generals of that age, or perhaps

of any other, well known to each other by fame, but personally unknown, met, to try their skill, not in arms, but in treaty. Scipio had lost his father, and his uncle, and Hannibal his father, his uncle, and two brothers, in the wars of Rome and Carthage. Two such men must have beheld each other, and especially on this occasion, with intense interest. Historians have made fine speeches for these two generals, at this interview, knowing no more, probably, of the words they used, than would be known, at this day, if none had been reported. Titus Livius, whose works are the principal sources of this history, had as much claim to be a dramatist, and a novelist, as a narrator of facts.

§ 307. Hannibal and Scipio parted as they met, enemies who must settle their pretensions in the field. The battle of Zama, (about ninety miles southwest of Carthage,) fought in 202 B. C., between these chiefs, terminated in the total overthrow of the Carthaginian forces, and Hannibal escaped with difficulty. This victory was followed by a humiliating peace, the terms of which were dictated by Scipio. The conditions were many, and collectively may be said to have terminated the sovereignty of Carthage. A large sum of money, and immediate payment, was one of the conditions. When this payment was made, some of the senators were affected, even to tears. But Hannibal (who considered himself ill used while in Italy, by his own country,) was seen to smile. 'Being questioned on this insult to the public distress, he answered: a smile of scorn for those who felt not the loss of their country, until it affected their own interest, was an expression of sorrow for Carthage.' — Scipio returned to Rome, and received from the senate the surname of *Africanus*.

§ 308. While this second war with Carthage was going on, in the south, the Romans were not inattentive to the means of extending their power over nations in other directions. Within the next fifty years after the peace with Carthage, (from 202 to 150 B. C.) Rome was known, and felt, throughout Greece, including Macedonia, and even to the eastern part of Asia Minor. The whole of this eastern country, which had been divided, fought for, and possessed, by Alexander's generals and their successors, had been going through the common revolu-

tions of that age. Kingdoms arose, were extended, and flourished ; others, consequently, were diminished, were conquered, or destroyed, as military force, and every manner and grade of crime, may be supposed to have operated.

§ 309. Greece and Asia Minor were a tempting field for Roman policy and military skill. Under various pretences, the whole of this country was treated as the peninsula of Italy had been, before the first Punic war. Rome afforded protection to the weak, and aided them to conquer the strong ; and the weak always found, that in this process they had been conquered themselves. There were strong motives to Roman soldiery, whether officers, or privates, to engage in these wars. It was the glory of Rome that made the unity of action ; it was the glory of the victorious chief, on his return to Rome, that inspired the craving for success. The spoils were not yet the property of the army, but of Rome. The military reward was, bearing the spoils in triumph, through the streets of Rome, to the treasury, with a long retinue of captives, often comprising nobles, princes, and kings. Scipio, who conquered Hannibal at Zama, hoped to have numbered Hannibal among his captives, and to have led him in chains to the Roman capitol. After Hannibal had quitted Carthage in disgust, and had visited Tyre, he went into the service of king Antiochus, who reigned around the north-east corner of the Mediterranean. The Romans eagerly sought him ; and he retired into the kingdom of Perseus, in Bithynia, on the southern side of the Black Sea. One of the conditions of peace, with this king, was, that Hannibal should be delivered up to Scipio. He escaped this fate, only, by taking poison, which this man, worthy of a better country than his own, and of a better age than that in which he lived, had long borne about his person, to await his necessities, concealed in a ring. He was supposed to have died at the age of seventy. In the same year died Scipio and Philopœmen : these were the three greatest generals of that age. (About 188 B. C.)

§ 310. Carthage was destined to take its turn again, with Rome. One of the conditions of the former peace was, that Carthage should not make war without the consent of Rome. A war was provoked, on the part of Nu-

midia, where the Algerine country now is. Rome sent commissioners to enquire into this matter, and among others Cato, called the Censor. Carthage in fifty years of peace and commerce, had become rich, splendid, and luxurious. The virtuous Cato, sincerely believed that duty to Rome exacted the destruction of Carthage. It was intolerable, that a city so rich, and magnificent, should exist, within three or four days sail of Rome. On leaving Carthage, he plucked some figs from a tree, and entering the Senate on his arrival at Rome, and holding up his figs, yet fresh, told the senators, that the great city where this fruit grew, was no farther from Rome than that freshness proved it to be. This real Roman, concluded every speech in the Senate, whatsoever might be the subject, with *Delenda est Carthago*, (And my opinion is, that Carthage must be destroyed.) A descendant of this Cato, not long after, a despairing fugitive from Rome, and a good and great man, tore out his own bowels, in a town near to Carthage, on finding that the wound of his own sword had failed to end his life.

§ 311. A new and third war was commenced by the Romans, and conducted by another Scipio, (the son of a cousin of the two brothers of this name) who literally accomplished the wishes of Cato. Seeing the Carthaginians with the eyes of Roman historians, there is nothing to respect in them, and one sees the justice of the synonyme of dishonesty, and 'punic faith.' Perceiving Hannibal, in like manner, one feels an emotion of sorrow, that such a man as Hannibal was, had not a country worthy of him to contend for. Yet, how uncertain are the means of judging. This seems to be certain, that however unworthy Carthage may have been, the character of Romans, as proved by what their own historians say of their conduct to Carthage, was odious and shocking. That magnificent city, and all its inhabitants were abandoned to the brutality of Roman soldiery, until they were satiated, and then submitted to the flames for seventeen days. The scene of misery and desolation was such, that even Scipio, by whose order it occurred, could not refrain from weeping over it. It was thus destroyed 146 B. C. It was rebuilt many years after by Romans, and continued some centuries. But its site can now hardly be traced,

CHAPTER XXIII.

From the end of the third Punic war in 147 B. C. to the death of Sylla in 78 B. C.

§ 312. WE have seen the best days of *Republican Rome*. Already a sovereignty residing in the people of a single city, and exercised through senators and military chiefs, disposed of princes, kings and empires, from the Atlantic, to the eastern end of the Mediterranean. With riches, and the spoils of conquest, Rome prepared itself for the tyranny of the worst of passions; for seditions, civil wars, and despotism, which were not long in coming. Although the military passion was still the dominant one, as to all foreign nations, Rome itself begins to show the fatal consequences of its indulgence. There is no longer anything to respect, or to imitate in the proud mistress of the world; but many things to commiserate and abhor. A few examples of ancient Roman virtue are seen, but they only serve to throw a stronger light on the general depravity.

§ 313 From the end of the third Punic war in 147 B. C. to the tranquillity which began in the year 30 of the christian era, under the government of the first emperor called Augustus, is 117 years. This was an eventful and interesting period, and well deserves a philosophical history for itself. It comports with the plan of this volume to do no more than sketch the great scenes, and the prominent agents in them, as introductory to more extended inquiries, by those who desire a more comprehensive knowledge.

§ 314. The first event of these times, was that called the sedition of the Gracchi, which began about the year 145 B. C. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, and Caius, his brother, were, on the paternal side, of distinguished family; and on the maternal side, were grandsons of the elder Scipio Africanus, by his truly excellent daughter Cornelia. Their father died while they were young; and they were left to the care of their mother, who caused

them to receive the highest education, in eloquence, and in the study of Grecian philosophy, which was, at this time, much considered at Rome. Both of them were military men, both eloquent, and the younger, Caius, eminently so. Their sister Sempronia, was the wife of the younger Scipio Africanus. At this time the distinctions of patrician and plebeian had long disappeared; public officers were chosen according to the will of the people. The senators appear to have held a rank of nobility; and there was a limited order called equestrians, or knights, who seem to have held an intermediate rank between senators and citizens. The offices of consul, tribunes of the people, and some others, still continued.

§ 315. Whether the purpose of the Gracchi was to arrest the growing luxuries and depravity of Rome, and to restore it to republican simplicity; or to gratify some passions, which they concealed under the pretence of patriotism, is a matter which remains in doubt. It is not improbable, that their motives may have been derived from both these sources. Their first measure was to propose that no Roman should possess more than five hundred jugera of land, (a jugerum was a Roman acre, a space which could be ploughed in one day, with one yoke of oxen, and equal to 28,800 square feet.) They also proposed that every person who held more, should give up the surplus, to be divided equally between his children, and those citizens who had no land. It is readily perceived how fruitful a source of contention this must have been, at a time when the tenure of estates had not been disturbed by any similar proposition for nearly 250 years. The rich opposed, and the poor were craving. Civil commotion arose, and continued nearly twenty years, in the course of which time, many lives were sacrificed in tumults, and among others, both the Gracchi were killed. Scipio, their brother-in-law, was among their decided opponents; and when he was preparing to take effective measures to restore tranquillity, he was found dead in his bed, with marks upon him which showed that he had been strangled. His wife Sempronia, was thought not to be guiltless of this crime. This Scipio was among the last of 'the Romans.' All historians concur in ranking him among the most dignified of men.

They make him the equal, if not the superior of the elder Scipio. They ascribe to him courage and humanity; exalted talents, with equal magnanimity; patriotism, guided by wisdom and foresight; and to these high qualities they add moderation, benevolence, and incorruptible integrity. It is some indication, how Rome had fallen, that such a man should have been strangled, in his own house, without exciting a general indignation. Scipio so died at the age of 56. (128 B. C.)

§ 316. During these contentions, Rome was still prosecuting her foreign wars on both sides of the Mediterranean; on the north, from the Atlantic to its eastern end; and on the south, with the Numidian princes, Jugurtha, and Massinissa, westwardly of Carthage. Of the Jugurthine war, there is an elegant history by Sallust, which is one of the books familiarly known in classic erudition. But, in this war, one finds no new trait in Roman character. Jugurtha ventured to Rome to sue for clemency, but without success. On retiring he looked back upon it; 'Oh! Rome!' said he, 'how readily wouldst thou sell thyself, if any man were rich enough to be the purchaser!'

§ 317. Some extraordinary men now make their appearance in the affairs of Rome. Whether they controlled events, or events made them, may be a point not easily decided. Among these men were Caius Marius, born 156 years B. C. Lucius Cornelius Sylla, born 137; Marcus Licinius Crassus, born 131; Cneus Pompey, born 106; Caius-Julius Cæsar, 100; Marcus Portius Cato, 95; Marcus Amelius Lepidus, 81 B. C. Marius was the son of poor parents, and born in a village distant from Rome. He was of uncommon stature, great bodily strength, undaunted courage, rude manners, and frightful countenance. His soul seemed to be devoted to two passions, ambition and revenge. A rapid rise through all the grades of military life, to be tribune of the people, is some evidence of popular talents; *and it is some evidence of audacity* that he openly reproached the senate for their venality and corruption. He went against Jugurtha in Numidia, second in command under the consul Metellus. He managed to supersede this consul, and soon conquered the Numidian prince, and his ally and father-in-law, Bocchus, king of Mauretania. He next

distinguished himself in repelling an invasion of the barbarians from the north, destroying 200,000 of them. The wives of these invaders fought by the sides of their husbands, and when vanquished, slew their children, and killed themselves.

§ 318. Marius found himself in the difficult position of secret contriver of a popular commotion, which it was his official duty as consul to suppress. His management occasioned the restoration of Metellus to the consulship, and Marius left Rome in disgust, in the hope of kindling some new war at a distance. For this purpose he went to the court of Mithridates, king of Pontus, who reigned in a territory between the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, and the south side of the Black Sea. This able king contended against the Romans forty years.

§ 319. Marius was hurried back to Rome to take command, jointly with Sylla, to suppress a formidable insurrection of some inhabitants of Italy, who had been promised the rank of Roman citizens, but who had not obtained it. This was called the *social war*, and 300,000 of the flower of Italy fell in the course of it. This war being ended, that against Mithridates was undertaken with new vigour. Marius sought the command, but Sylla obtained it.

§ 320. Sylla was of illustrious family; a person, in all respects the opposite of Marius, but in courage and ambition; and consequently an elegant and accomplished man. Marius contrived to get a law made, that the command should be taken from Sylla, and given to him. The officers sent by Marius to take command, in his name, were put to death. Marius then fell upon Sylla's friends in Rome, and put them to death. Sylla soon appeared at Rome, with his army, and entering the city, sword in hand, put Marius to flight, and obtained a decree, that he was the enemy of his country, and that it should be deemed lawful for any one to kill him. Sylla then departed to carry on the war against Mithridates.

§ 321. Marius, who was now nearly seventy years of age, became a miserable fugitive. At one time this Roman, who had gained many splendid victories, and who had been six times consul, was unable to find even a hid-

ing place, and was near perishing from hunger. After many perils, he endeavoured to secrete himself in a marsh, sometimes up to his waist in water. In this marsh he was discovered, and led, with a rope around his neck, to the neighbouring town of Minturnæ, and there imprisoned. It could hardly be imagined, that one who had sunk so low as Marius, could, in any of the vicissitudes of fortune, be again master of Rome ; yet such he was destined to be. While in prison here, a slave was sent to dispatch him. On entering the cell, armed with a dagger, the eyes of Marius flashed upon the assassin, and with a voice of thunder, 'Stop ! wretch !' he exclaimed, 'wilt thou dare to kill Caius Marius ?' The dagger dropped from the assassin's hand, and he hurried from the sight of this terrible man. The magistrates interpreted this to be the interposition of the gods, and set him once more at liberty ; and even furnished him with a vessel to facilitate his escape. He approached the shores of Africa, hoping to find an asylum there ; and entered the port of Carthage. Sextilius, then prætor in Africa, hearing of his arrival, sent an order to him to depart. While the messenger waited for an answer, Marius still remaining silent with his eyes fixed on the ground, was asked, what answer should be carried to the prætor. 'Tell him,' said the desponding exile, 'that you have seen Caius Marius, banished from his country, sitting on the ruins of Carthage.' So hopeless and helpless was his condition, that he passed a whole winter, in his vessel, afraid to land anywhere.

§ 322. Meanwhile, Lucius Cornelius Cinna, a sanguinary partisan of Marius, though of the illustrious Cornelian race, had raised himself into popular favour, and secured to himself the command of Rome. Marius, hearing of this turn in affairs, landed in Italy, and proceeded to Rome, gathering an army as he went, composed of exiles, fugitives, and desperadoes, as wicked and revengeful as himself. Cinna conferred upon him the title of pro-consul, and in this character he entered Rome, with a host of desperate and rapacious followers. The city was entirely submitted to the indulgence of the worst passions that can find a place in the heart of man, for five successive days. The confusion and terror arose to such height, that Cinna, and a remarkable general named

Sertorius, gathered a competent force, and surrounded the quarters of these assassins, in the night time, and put them all to death.

§ 323. Marius was now at leisure to avenge the miseries of his long exile, and satiate his appetite for blood; nor was he satisfied, while a human being remained alive, whom he regarded as an enemy. Then, as though exhausted by the labours of destruction, he sunk in death himself, under the infirmities of old age, disease, and intemperance. His fellow labourer, Cinna, while engaged in organizing an army to go and supersede Sylla, (who was still engaged in the war with Mithridates) occasioned a sedition among his soldiers by some acts of severity, and in attempting to put this down, he was assassinated.

§ 324. The opponents of Sylla having gained the government of Rome, he made peace in the East, and hastened back with his favourite and devoted legions. An army had been raised to meet him. Sylla drew up his army near that of his adversaries, and proposed a delay to confer and compromise, which was accepted. As the two armies had, then, free intercourse, he directed the soldiers of his own, to display to those of the other, the spoils which they had won, in their warfare in the East; and by what means they could, to induce their opponents to desert, and join the standard of Sylla. This ingenuity was very serviceable to Sylla, and so greatly reduced the number of his adversaries, that in the battle which shortly ensued, he was victorious, and entered Rome in the character of conqueror. It was now his turn to deluge the streets of Rome with blood.

§ 325. Eight thousand persons, and among them many distinguished ones, had surrendered themselves to his clemency. He ordered them to be shut up in the circus. Having assembled the senate in the temple of Bellona, near the circus, he rose to give them an account of his exploits in the East. While he was speaking with the utmost composure, the senate were startled with the shrieks of those prisoners in the circus, whom he had ordered to be massacred. Perceiving their emotion, 'Regard it not, fathers!' said he, 'it is only a few rebels who are punished by my orders.' In a short time he caused 100,000 persons to be put to death, among whom were

ninety senators, fifteen men of consular rank, and 1,600 knights. He extended his atrocities throughout Italy. He ordered every male inhabitant of the ancient city of Præneste (twenty-one miles east of Rome) to be slaughtered, because the son, and the partisans of Marius found an asylum there. It is related that this assassin ordered twelve thousand of the most respectable citizens of Præneste to be confined in one spot, and that he tranquilly beheld the massacre of the whole of them.

§326. He decreed that all who sought pardon for offences, should earn it by destroying the enemies of the state. This was an invitation to all persons to massacre at their pleasure. In a city where the most implacable rivalries, jealousies, and hatreds had long been festering, the consequences of this invitation can be imagined. Assassination became a regular business, either from choice, or means of protection, as showing devotion to the cause of Sylla. A list of the proscribed was made out daily, and hung up in the Forum. Every person whose name appeared on this list, might be killed by any one, in any manner. The soldiers were allowed to murder any citizens, whose goods, wives, or daughters were desired. A son was put to torture to compel him to disclose where his father was concealed. The father being within hearing of his son's cries, could not endure them, and came forth; both were slain. A son and father were both proscribed. Sylla ordered them to fight, and promised life to the survivor. The son pierced his father's heart, and then his own with the same sword.

§327. If any one act of Sylla would serve better than another to illustrate his character, it may be that in which he caused an amiable and respected citizen to be put to death because he bore the name, and was remotely of the blood of Marius. This person was first scourged through the streets of Rome, then led beyond the Tiber, and there his hands and ears were cut off, his eyes and his tongue torn out, and all his bones broken. Sylla was present to see this work faithfully done; and because a looker on dared to show some sympathy for the sufferer, Sylla considered this natural emotion an offence deserving instant death, and ordered it to be inflicted. These are only examples of the many atrocities of that day. It is painful to narrate scenes so disgraceful to human nature;

more painful to think, that they must be read by amiable and innocent young persons, to teach them what man may become to his fellow man; and how far more frightful and inhuman is civil war, than any which one nation wages against another.

§ 328. It deserves to be noticed here, that there were two young men, who appeared conspicuously in Roman history, in after times, Pompey and Cæsar. The former was the partisan of Sylla, and employed, at this time, as prætor in Sicily. Pompey had already distinguished himself in the wars of Asia Minor, and had received the honour of a triumph, and the surname of *Great*; from Sylla. But with regard to Cæsar, his feelings were very different. He early manifested a repugnance to Cæsar, and actually placed his name on the list of the proscribed. This condemnation was reluctantly withdrawn; 'For,' said Sylla, 'young as he is, I discover in him more than one Marius.' Perceiving how he was estimated, Cæsar prudently retired from Rome, and went to Greece, and to the court of Nicomedes, then king of Bithynia. He afterwards joined a Roman army in that quarter, and there first began his military career. It is said, that one cause of Sylla's enmity to Cæsar was that he would not give up his wife, and marry a step-daughter of Sylla.

§ 329. Sylla having extirpated every one whom he chose to consider as an enemy, and Rome having become tranquil, he employed himself in arranging its government, and that of the republic, as it was yet called. He intimated to the senate, that they must choose a perpetual dictator; it was hardly necessary to intimate whom they should choose. He concentrated all power in himself; caused all laws to be annulled which were inconvenient to him, and all laws to be enacted which served his own purposes. He continued thus to rule, for about three years, when having convened the senate as for some extraordinary occasion, he astonished them by declaring, that he renounced the dictatorship; and that if any one was dissatisfied with his exercise of power, he was ready to answer him. He forthwith dismissed his official attendants, and returned to his house as a private citizen.

§ 330. He soon after retired to a villa, near to the famous city of Puteoli, about ten miles northwest from Na-

ples. Here he devoted himself to scenes of gross sensuality, taking little or no interest in what was doing elsewhere in the world, until he was overtaken by one of the most odious and afflictive of diseases. He was devoured alive, inside and out, by vermin, which no remedy could extirpate; and thus, of all the thousands and thousands whom he put to death, no one among them died so wretchedly as himself. He died at the age of sixty-two; 78 B. C. There seems to be nothing wanting in the singular compound of this man's fortunes, (who gave himself the surname of *Fortunate*;) but that the Romans should weep over his foul remains. They accordingly decreed to him a splendid funeral. The senate, and all public men attended, officially; the pontiffs and vestals chanted his elegy; — and thus voluntarily confounded all distinction between virtue and vice, patriotism and tyranny. On the urn which contained his ashes, the following epitaph, written by himself, was engraved: 'I am Sylla the Fortunate; who, in the course of my life, have surpassed both friends and enemies; the first by the *good*; the latter, by the *evil* I have done them.' It is said that Sylla was the first of the Romans, whose remains were burnt; but this is uncertain. His motive is thought to have been, to prevent the same indignity to his own dead body, which he occasioned to that of Marius, in having it taken from the tomb, and deprived of the usual decency of the sepulchre, that it might be torn in fragments and scattered by the winds. There was a peculiar meaning in this malice; for the Romans believed, that the soul of an unburied body, must wander a hundred years on the shores of the river Styx, in the infernal regions, before it could pass that river to the elysian fields. This belief made death at sea terrible to the Romans.

§ 331. After Sylla's death, the contentions of Rome continued. There is one of these worth mentioning, as it discloses something of Roman character. Among the amusements in the cities of Italy, were the combats of gladiators. The most distinguished for personal beauty and strength, among the slaves, were selected and trained to the use of the sword. These persons were brought into an arena, or amphitheatre, and opposed in couples, like the present mode of fighting cocks. They were not always slaves. They were sometimes hired; and it be-

came at last, a sort of profession. The spectators of all ages and both sexes, attended, as they, at this day, go to see a theatrical exhibition. The spectators were the judges of the accomplishments and conduct of the gladiators in the battle. There were postures for all the vicissitudes of the conflict, requiring grace, and elegance of action. When the assembly inclined to save a fallen combatant, they made this known by holding up their thumbs. If they chose he should die, the thumbs pointed downwards. There were rules for dying, and it was infamous to die ungracefully. A gladiator, named Spartacus, escaped from Capua, with some companions; and these were joined by others, until they numbered an army of 70,000 men. A servile war and many battles ensued. At one time, Rome itself was in danger from this hostility. After a few years they were subdued, though not without many hard-fought battles.

§ 332. It is remarkable, that during the dreadful scenes which have been noticed, learning, science, and taste, had made respectable progress in Italy. Greek literature was fashionable. Many young Romans went to Grecian cities to pursue their studies in rhetoric and philosophy. A fondness for the Greek drama had begun. Some important public improvements had been made. The public roads had been made better. Some elegant females figure in Roman history. With all this was intermingled a surprising superstition; and all the absurdities in religious worship, which belonged to the early ages. Signs, omens, and indications of the will of the gods, were drawn from the most trivial circumstances. This occasioned Cicero to notice, about the same time, a remark of Cato; that he wondered why the augurs did not laugh in each other's faces.

§ 333. The religious belief and ceremonies of the Romans, present a question equally applicable to all religions which are of human invention; that is, were the sacred functionaries in these mysteries, really sincere in what they offered to others as truths; or only agents, employed to keep the multitude in the bonds of superstition? Whatever answer may be given to this question, the Romans were always religious, after their forms. So far as can be traced, their faith and practice was original.

ly derived from their neighbours, the Etrurians, who were very skilful in omens, and all sorts of divination. Whence they derived it, is unknown ; but it cannot be doubted that it came from the East. Anciently, what is now Tuscany, was Etruria. The Romans selected ten or twelve youths to go to the priests there, to be instructed, and to bring thence, the knowledge on which religious ceremonies were founded. Afterwards, Greek mythology was incorporated into the Roman religion. It seems to be certain that Jupiter was a Divinity, who was known and worshiped all around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, except among the Jews, at a very early date.

§ 334. Augury came from the Etrurians to Rome, and was constantly maintained there till christianity prevailed. It is surprising, at this day, how such absurdities could have been respected, after the Romans became an enlightened nation. They had a college of priests, of whom one was chief, or supreme, under the name of Pontifex Maximus ; the whole number being about fifteen. They enjoyed very high privileges, but were not precluded from holding civil or military offices ; and whatever might be their fortunes, in other respects, their priesthood continued for life ; and there could be but one chief at a time. This priesthood were the depositaries of all the secret policy of the empire, and were appealed to by rulers to decide in great emergencies, what could, or could not be done. They, and they only could divine what of good or evil the future would unfold. In all this, there is nothing new. The same thing is seen among the priesthood in Egypt, the magi of Persia, and the oracles of Greece, varying in nothing but the form.

§ 335. But that which is truly absurd is, the modes in which the Roman priesthood discovered what was to come. This they did by establishing certain rules, and then applying them to the matter in hand. For example, would it do to engage in a war, fight a battle, or assemble the people to make law ? The priests settled such questions by sacrifices ; by the flight, chirping, or feeding of birds. If the victim came freely to the altar, fell by one stroke, and bled freely, the omens were so far favourable. Then his entrails were inspected. What were the signs of good and evil in these, is no longer

known; these are sacred mysteries, which perished with those who understood them. Another mode was this: a priest placed himself on an eminence, and looked towards the East; if a crow or a raven was heard to croak on his left hand, the omen was bad, if on his right, the omen was good. So, also great stress was laid on the number, kind, and flight of birds, while the inspection was going on. The security to the priest was, that whatsoever his annunciation of the will of the gods might be, he was sure to be in the right, since he only knew the rule on which he decided. In the first Punic war an important naval battle was lost by the impiety of the Roman admiral. On the eve of the battle, an augur inspected the sacred chickens, and reported that they would not eat; the admiral ordered them to be thrown into the sea, saying, 'Then, let them drink.' As might be expected, (according to Roman notions,) he lost the battle. So superstitious were the Romans, that the most trifling accidents were considered as decisive indications of future events, in the most serious affairs. Thus, when Cæsar was landing with an army in Africa, he happened to slip, and fall upon his face. His legions were terrified by this omen. Cæsar, well knowing that such impression would be made, averted the calamity by immediately stretching forth his hands, and extending them on the earth, and by crying aloud; 'Thus, oh! Africa! do I take possession of thee!'

§ 336. Besides the college of priests, there were many sacred festivals, in honour of deities, conducted by sacred persons, male and female. The most remarkable among the sacred females were the *vestal virgins*. These were selected at the will of the Pontifex Maximus, from the first families, when very young, and were required to devote thirty years to their duties; ten in the initiation, ten in the official service, and ten in teaching noviciates. After this, they might marry, though it was thought disgraceful to do so. They were not precluded from appearing in public, nor even from going to the public shows. Among their duties was that of keeping up the sacred fire, throughout the year; which was annually re-kindled, from the sun, in the month of March. These persons enjoyed the highest respect, and had exalted

privileges. When they appeared in public, they were, like the consuls, preceded by an officer, called a lictor. They were the keepers of the sacred *palladium*. This was an image of wood, (as the fable goes) which fell from heaven, as a precious gift to the city of Troy. When Æneas fled from Troy, he brought the palladium with him, and his son Iulus, placed it in the temple of Vesta, the goddess of chastity. This image was so holy, that even the Pontifex Maximus did not dare to look upon it. The security of the Roman empire was thought to depend upon its preservation. When civil commotions, or a conflagration happened, it was the solemn duty of the vestals, to enter the sacred recess in the temple where the image was kept, and with pious care to bear it to a place of safety. Such is the origin of the word palladium (from Pallas, a name of Minerva) now in common use, to signify security, protection, sanctuary, &c. The word Ægis, the name of Minerva's shield, is used in the like sense. This was also the name of Jupiter's shield. To show how ridiculous these high sounding mythological terms are, Ægis is the name of the she goat which suckled Jupiter in the Isle of Crete; and when the goat died, Jupiter took off its skin, and made out of it a covering for his shield. About the year 241 B. C., when Metellus was Pontifex Maximus, the palladium was rescued by him from the flames, at the risk of his life, and with the loss of his sight. For this eminent service the people decreed to him a statue.

§ 337. Such things not only show what Roman superstition was, but they show also, this fact; that the opinions and acts of one age, are transferred to following ages. It does not require much sagacity to discern, in the forms and ceremonies which have been passed down, from age to age, among some professors of christianity, ceremonies and observances taken from the absurdities of Greece and Rome; and which are as irreconcilable with the simplicity of the prevailing religion, as was the splendid worship in heathen temples, addressed to wood and metals, made into deities, by human hands.

§ 338. Among the striking instances of the dealings of Time with mortals and their purposes, is that of the first, and present use of the Colisæum at Rome. It

was built about 1900 years ago, by the labour of 10,000 Jews who were captives of Titus, to amuse 100,000 Romans at once, with the graceful and mutual destruction of gladiators ; and to show what human skill can do, in contention with the ferocity of wild beasts. And now, if one should enter this venerable remnant of antiquity in ' holy week,' he might see in the centre of its vast area, a wooden cross, bearing an inscription, that whosoever kissed that sacred emblem, should be assured of pardon for all the sins committed during the space of two whole days.

CHAPTER XXIV. .

From the death of Sylla, in 78 B. C., to the death of Pompey, in 48 B. C.

§ 339. THE last years of Rome, before the reign of the emperors, are now to be noticed, comprising the space between the year 680 from the building of the city, (which corresponds with the year 73 B. C.) and the year 27 B. C., when the title of Augustus Cæsar was given to Octavius; that is, forty-seven years. There are many great deeds; touching tragedies, and renowned actors, in this short space. That these agents and events, may be better understood, the characters who appear in this drama, should first be explained. This period deserves to be studied. It shows how a great and glorious republic received its shackles, and gave up its liberties, to a relentless despotism, founded on a hireling soldiery.

§ 340. In the year 74 B. C. there were living: 1. Caius Julius Cæsar, then twenty-six years of age. He had held all the offices of the republic, and was a most accomplished soldier, and an elegant scholar. A book called Cæsar's Commentaries, containing a history of his wars, is one of the most valued classics of the present day. His wife was Aurelia, the daughter of Cotta, of noble rank. 2. Cneius Pompey was then thirty-two years old. He had led armies through the whole extent of country, from the Atlantic to the east end of Asia Minor. He was eloquent, austere, cold, and calculating. He attached himself to Sylla's party. He first married Anstitia; and reluctantly put her aside, to marry Æmylia, the daughter-in-law of Sylla. On her death he married Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, from policy, not affection. On her death he married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, a lady celebrated for her virtues, beauty, and accomplishments. 3. Marcus Portius Cato (in 74 B. C.) was twenty-one years old. He is called the last of 'the Romans.' He was a scholar, a soldier, and a man of severe virtue. 4. Marcus Antonius, (Mark An-

tony) of distinguished family, and military fame, afterwards, was twelve years old in 74 B. C. 5. Marcus Tullius Cicero, the orator, was then thirty-three years of age. 6. Marcus Licinius Crassus, surnamed the Rich, (and who became so from buying up the confiscated property during the times of Marius and Sylla,) is supposed to have been about fifty, in 74. He was a distinguished military chief; and had held all the high offices at Rome. 7. Lucius Junius Brutus was then twenty-one. He was a descendant from him who expelled the Tarquins, and put an end to kings in Rome, about five hundred years before this time. He married Portia, the daughter of Cato. The family of Brutus always appear as the friends of republican government. 8. Caius Cassius was then thirty years old. He was an able soldier and accomplished scholar. He married Junia, the sister of Brutus. By Brutus he was called the 'last of the Romans.'

§ 341. These eight persons, who will be seen to make so conspicuous a figure in the forty-seven years now under consideration, died by assassination, or suicide. Octavius, afterwards Augustus Cæsar, and son of a sister of Julius Cæsar, was not born till twelve years after 74 B. C. The celebrated Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, who conquered, by her beauty, Cæsar, Antony, and the elder son of Pompey, was born five years after 74 B. C. She also committed suicide. There were many other eminent persons, in this space of time, (forty-seven years,) but those who have been named were the prominent actors.

§ 342. At the beginning of these forty-seven years, the factions of Rome and Italy had been suppressed. Pompey and Crassus were then the most important men. A rivalry grew up between them. Crassus sought favour with the people, by lavishing his wealth; Pompey, by proposing, and obtaining popular laws. Both had the command of armies, respectively attached to them personally. Neither was willing to disband. Crassus thought to gain favour by disbanding his; Pompey was obliged to follow his example. The Mediterranean was controlled by pirates. Pompey was commissioned to extirpate them, which he did in a short time. Lucullus then commanded an army in Asia Minor, unsuccessfully, against Mithridates. Pompey was sent to supersede him. He

conquered all Asia Minor, Syria, Armenia, and penetrated beyond the Euphrates. Returning, he went into the limits of Arabia, and thence came to Jerusalem, and after an obstinate siege, took Jerusalem. He went into the 'holy of holies' of the temple, with a mixture of audacity and apprehension, and saw what no mortal, but the priests of the sanctuary, had ever seen. He was so awed by the solemnity of this place, that he left it as he found it, unimpaired in its treasures. He returned to Rome, and entered in triumph, having in his train, as prisoners, the son of Tigranes, king of Armenia, and son-in-law of Mithridates; a sister of Mithridates; Aristobulus, king of Judea; and a multitude of hostages from different countries which he had conquered. The money brought to the treasury, exceeded twenty-five millions of dollars.

§ 343. While Pompey was absent, the conspiracy of Cataline occurred, in which Cicero so greatly distinguished himself, by his four orations, now so well known. Cataline was condemned. Cicero and Cato were of opinion, that he and his associates should be put to death. Julius Cæsar, who was second to no one in Rome, for eloquence, but Cicero, was for banishment only. The former prevailed. Cataline escaped, and raised a small army of desperate men, who all fell in battle, in the very ranks in which they fought. Cicero received the thanks of the senate, and was called 'Father of his country.' This renowned orator seems to have been a person of some vanity, and, like some other great men, to have valued himself for qualities which he did not possess. He never failed to rehearse the exploits of his patriotism, whenever he addressed the senate. He sustained several public offices with much credit to himself. The important office of questor was held by him in Sicily; and afterwards, that of governor of Cilicia, a province of Asia Minor, where he met the Parthians, and gained some credit as a military man. Some pretensions to a triumph were set up by him, but in this he was disappointed.

§ 344. Cæsar had been sent to Spain as prætor, where he had gained glory and riches. Fearing that Pompey and Crassus might supplant him, he returned, and artfully reconciled these two men, and then agreed with them to divide the Roman empire between themselves;

and that nothing should be done but by mutual consent. Pompey took Spain, because he could stay at Rome, and govern by lieutenants. Crassus took the East, because he could there increase his riches. Cæsar took Europe beyond the Alps, because he could there acquire glory in a field all his own. Thus was composed the first *triumvirate*, 60 years B. C.

§ 345. Cæsar did not fear much from his son-in-law, Pompey, while he was absent. He made it Pompey's interest to sustain him. He feared nothing from Crassus, in his eastern wars. But he disliked to leave the tongue of Cicero in Rome. By a course of ingenious expedients, he procured the banishment of Cicero, to a distance of four hundred miles from Rome, and the demolition of his house, and the sale of his goods. The ground taken was, that any one who had procured a citizen to be condemned, unheard, should be banished himself. Cæsar pursued his conquests beyond the Alps, and even crossed into Great Britain, as conqueror. Pompey, vainly thinking that he was promoting his own interests in honouring Cæsar, ordered a festival of fifteen days, in gratitude for his victories.

§ 346. Pompey at length discerned that he had assisted in giving Cæsar dominion which threatened his own. He took the opposite course, and suppressed Cæsar's letters, and spread reports unfavourable to his reputation. About this time, Pompey's wife, Julia, (the daughter of Cæsar, who had done much to preserve harmony,) died; and Crassus was dead. As he loved gold, it was said, that his enemies in the East, who had taken him captive, poured melted gold down his throat. Thus the empire was left to the ambition of Pompey and Cæsar. Pompey, finding how rapidly Cæsar was gaining the public affections, and how rapidly his own power was declining, took advantage of a sedition, which arose from the murder of Clodius, by Milo, and obtained a decree, that a body of troops should be at his command. Cicero, who had been recalled, appeared as the advocate of Milo, but without success. It was in allusion to these troops, whom Pompey had commanded to surround the senate, that Cicero speaks of the presence of arms, in one of his orations against Cataline.

§ 347. It began now to be clearly perceived, that the

powerful forces which Pompey could command in Spain and Italy; and those still more powerful, which Cæsar commanded as well on the Italian side, as beyond the Alps, made both Pompey and Cæsar very dangerous citizens to the republic. Attempts were made to take the command from both of them. These failing, a decree was obtained, that Cæsar should resign his command; and that if he refused, he should be declared an enemy of the commonwealth. The consuls, as was usual in emergencies, were commanded to see that '*the commonwealth received no damage.*' This was equivalent to dictatorial power. A successor was appointed to Cæsar in Gaul.

§ 348. Two tribunes, friends of Cæsar, (of whom Mark Antony was one) disguised themselves as slaves, and sought his camp, to communicate the true state of things at Rome. Cæsar presented these tribunes in their assumed garb to his army, and told them that these sacred officers of the people had been compelled to fly from Rome, disguised as slaves, to seek their protection. A universal acclamation followed, that they would go with him to Rome to avenge the wrongs of the republic. At this time Cæsar's head-quarters were on the Italian side of the Alps, then called Cisalpine Gaul, at a place called Ravenna, an ancient city, and port of the Adriatic sea, and about one hundred and seventy-five miles directly north from Rome, and about thirty miles north of a small river which runs into that sea, called the Rubicon. This river was then the boundary between the Roman territories and Cisalpine Gaul. This was the sacred boundary of the domestic empire of Rome. There is said to be remaining an ancient decree of the senate, engraved near a place called Rimini, that any person who passed that boundary; with an army, legion, or even cohort, should be devoted to the infernal gods, and branded with sacrilege and parricide. Whence comes the phrase, 'to pass the Rubicon.'

§ 349. Cæsar gathered his forces on the north side of the Rubicon, and having had an unsuccessful correspondence with Pompey, took his chance with the infernal gods, *crossed the Rubicon*, and proceeded towards Rome. Pompey having no sufficient means of resistance, goaded by the sarcasms of Cato, and the disre-

garded warnings of Cicero, (now presented with renewed self complacency,) departed for Capua, with such as pleased to accompany him. This is represented to have been a humiliating and mournful scene. Cæsar passed by Rome, as Hannibal did, and pursued Pompey, who retreated to Brundisium a fortified city on the north-east side of Italy, and three hundred miles southeast from Rome. Cæsar was soon before this city. From this place Pompey secretly withdrew with his forces to Dyrrachium, in Illyria, anciently part of Macedonia. The distance between these two places is about one hundred and ten miles across the Adriatic. This was the route of the Romans to and from the east. One of the famous roads of the empire ran from Rome to Brundisium.

§ 350. Cæsar then returned to Rome, and possessed himself of the great treasures there accumulated, to be used when needed in defence against the Gauls. Thinking it indispensable to destroy Pompey's power in Spain, he recruited his army, and crossed the Alps. This expedition is considered hardly an inferior achievement to that of Hannibal. In forty days, after reaching Spain, he subdued that country, broke up the armies there, and ordered the captive officers to Italy; and returned by the same route to Rome. He was received with acclamations, and appointed consul and dictator. He again departed for Brundisium and crossed into Greece, under circumstances which would have been regarded as the extreme of rashness in any other man.

§ 351. One is led to believe, from considering the character of great military chiefs, that they are inclined to superstition; or that they confide in what they may, perhaps, call the star of fortune; a sort of astrological religion. It is supposed, that even Napoleon was not a stranger to this sentiment, though he lived in an age so different from that of which we are now speaking. An instance of this sentiment occurred in Cæsar's life, about this time. He had passed over to Greece, with a part of his forces; while the residue were on the way to Brundisium, they ventured to debate, among themselves, on the good or evil which they might expect from this civil war. They had advanced slowly, and were a long time in embarking. Cæsar became apprehensive that

all was not as he would have it, and thinking his personal presence might be indispensable he disguised himself as a slave, and hired a small fishing boat, to transport him over to Brundisium. It seems that himself, and the manager of the boat, were the only persons on board. Having passed through Pompey's fleet in the night time, undiscovered, they encountered weather so tempestuous as to dishearten the boatsman, and he gave himself up for lost. At this moment Cæsar, hitherto unknown to his companion, broke forth in that well known characteristic expression; *Quid times? Cæsarem vehis!* (*what do you fear? it is Cæsar that you carry!*) He was, however, unable to contend with the winds and waves, in a small boat in the Adriatic, and was reluctantly compelled to seek the Grecian shore, without accomplishing his purpose. The residue of his forces, with some diminution of their number, soon after followed him thither.

§ 352. Meanwhile Pompey, who was still considered the lawful head of the republic, and entitled to command throughout its wide extent, had gathered around him a formidable force, from Greece and Asia Minor; and to strengthen him still more, the principal men of the republic adhered to him, and among them were Cicero, Cato, Cassius, and more than two hundred senators; all of whom were present with him, in his camp. A great question was now to be settled in Roman affairs, which of two aspiring military chiefs, should fight his way to supreme power. For, it could hardly be dissembled, that whichever of them should be master, in virtue of victory, must be master of the Roman world. The very necessity of settling this point *by a battle*, between Roman citizens, made it certain, that the victorious chief must sustain himself by military force; since he could have no confidence in the allegiance of those whom he must subdue.

§ 353. It may be inferred from the character of the game which was now to be played between two men, so celebrated as generals, that both would show their utmost ability. The whole empire, the fortunes and lives of themselves and friends, and that, which both of them may have valued more than all other things, their *generalship*, were involved in the accidents of a single battle. A series of military manœuvres were disclosed, with

doubtful results ; and both parties seemed to vie with each other, in finding the fortunate position, and propitious moment, to commence this tremendous conflict. The day of battle came, at Pharsalia, the star of Cæsar prevailed, and by the much inferior forces, in number, of Cæsar, those of Pompey were driven back upon their own camp, while those of Cæsar entered almost at the same time with them, and found there, the preparations for celebrating a victory, of which Pompey and his friends were confidently assured ; and even the very crowns of laurel, which were to adorn the brows of the victorious ; crowns, destined to be worn by other brows than those for which they were prepared. Certainly, Cæsar or Pompey ought to have fallen in this battle. Neither fell ; and it must be added, if history tells the truth, that the great Pompey, on this occasion, did no honour to his fame, as a general, or as a man.

§ 354. Pompey fled to the southern shore of Greece, leaving his friends to make their terms, or escape from Cæsar, as they might. He hurried on board a vessel, and departed for the isle of Lesbos, where he had left his wife, Cornelia, and his youthful son. He took these on board his vessel, and put to sea, uncertain whither to direct his flight. The man who but a little month before, had the supreme command from the Atlantic to the Euphrates, knew not of one spot of earth on which he could repose in safety. He coasted along the shore of Asia Minor, uncertain of his fate, and without appearing to have made a single effort to retrieve his fortunes. It was at length resolved to seek an asylum in Egypt, (which had not yet been openly subdued by the Romans,) relying on some services which had been rendered, by himself, at a former time, to the late king of that country.

§ 355. Uncertain of his reception at Alexandria, he sent on shore to announce his presence, and to ask an asylum. There was, at this time, in Egypt, an expatriated Roman, named Achillas, who was in high favour, as adviser, and military chief, with young king Ptolemy. Whatever may have been the motives of this person, he seems to have given counsel, that Pompey should be treacherously assured of a safe reception at Alexandria ; and that the opportunity should be seized, to put him to death. The accounts given of Pompey's fate, by differ-

ent historians, are inconsistent with each other. Whether he passed with his freedman, Philip, to the shore, in his own boat, and was met, on landing, by assassins, who instantly dispatched him; or whether he went into a boat sent from the shore to receive him, in which was this Achilles, and was meanly and unsuspectingly assaulted and slain in this boat, is doubtful.

356. But all accounts agree, that the murder of Pompey occurred in view of Cornelia; who remained on board the vessel, near enough to see all that befell Pompey, and who testified, by piercing shrieks, her sense of the desolating bereavement which she had sustained. All accounts farther concur in this, that the assassins of Pompey severed his head from his body, and took his ring from his hand, which bore his official seal, that of these might be made an acceptable present to his triumphant enemy, Cæsar. It is added, that his faithful Philip gathered the fragments of wood, found upon the shore, and made a funeral pile for the headless remains of Pompey; while another story is, that with his hands only, he made a shallow grave in the sand, to hide these remains from the birds of prey. So ended the career of Pompey; great and glorious, (as military men would say,) up to the hour that he fled from Pharsalia. He so ended, in the year 48 B. C., and in the fifty-eighth of his age.

CHAPTER XXV.

From the death of Pompey, 48 B. C., to the death of Cæsar, 44 B. C.

§ 357. CÆSAR pursued Pompey to Egypt, taking with him only a small number of troops. On his arrival at Alexandria, Pompey's head, and official ring, were presented to him, as the assassins of Pompey intended they should be; but Cæsar is said to have turned away from these relics, and to have given expression to his feelings, by tears. He is also said to have ordered a splendid monument, in honour of Pompey. No account is given of the inscription which it bore. One would like to know what Cæsar would have written on Pompey's tomb; his former friend, son-in-law, and personal enemy in the struggle for the empire of the world. Would he have used the language of self-gratulation, and of vindictive conquest; or of sorrow, that his own fortunes had made him such a survivor of the fugitive Pompey? The sentiments which one may have at the sepulchre of an enemy, and those which one may have in meeting him in the field, may be strongly contrasted; so much honour may be done to the human heart as to believe, that Cæsar's tears did flow, and from sources of which he had no need to be ashamed. Perhaps he may have remembered, that the accidents of a battle might have placed himself in the condition of being the lifeless subject of Pompey's recollections.

§ 358. The column known by the name of Pompey's pillar, at Alexandria, is supposed, by some writers, to be the monument which Cæsar raised. Others consider it to be of later date, and conjectures are various on its origin. The shaft measures sixty-four feet; the base, pedestal, and capital together measure twenty-six feet; whole elevation ninety feet. (The loftiest single column ever raised, is that of London, in 1666, two hundred and eight feet high. The Bunker Hill obelisk will be two hundred and twenty feet high.)

§ 359. Cæsar found the royal family of Egypt, consisting of a youthful king, named Ptolemy, and his two sisters, Cleopatra and Arsinoe, contending for the crown. Cæsar took upon himself, in virtue of his dignity as Roman consul, (though Egypt was yet, at least nominally independent,) to settle this contention, and ordered the parties to appear before him. This assumption was not well received by the Alexandrians, and gave much displeasure to Ptolemy, who had possession of the throne. Cleopatra had fled, and was, at this time, in Syria, or somewhere at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. Hearing of Cæsar's presence in Egypt, she returned secretly, and caused herself to be carried, hidden beneath some envelope, into the residence of Cæsar. Cleopatra was then twenty-one years old. She was celebrated for beauty, accomplishments, and learning, but more so for her artful management. She has left abundant proof of her fascinating attractions. There are pictures of her extant, but whether they are fanciful representations, or true ones, cannot be known. Probably the former, because they purport that she was, in beauty, of the Circassian caste; that is, of complexion formed of the white and red rose. Yet, as she was of Grecian descent, and dwelt always in a burning clime, it may be supposed that her complexion was of swarthy hue. However this may have been, she was born when Alexandria was still the abode of science and learning; and it is said of her, that she had been so well instructed as to be able to give audience to seven ambassadors, who spoke different languages, and that she could reply to each of them, in his own.

§ 360. The conqueror of Pompey was not long in deciding that young Ptolemy must yield the throne to Cleopatra. This decision involved him in an unexpected civil war, with very inadequate forces on his part. He was compelled to shut himself up in Alexandria; and, at last, to fortify himself in a part of it. His military skill was put to the severest trial, and he was on the very point of being taken by young Ptolemy's army, when a part of his own army arrived, by the way of Syria, and saved him from this disgrace. In this warfare a part of the Alexandrian library was destroyed. One historian says, that in one of the conflicts in which Cæsar was involved,

while at Alexandria, his own troops were seized with a panic, and fled ; that he could, by no means, rally them ; and was obliged to fly himself. This event happened in the port of Alexandria ; and nearly opposite to the palace. To save himself, he retired to a ship ; but so many followed him, that he was apprehensive of the sinking of the ship, and therefore jumped into the sea, and swam to the fleet which lay before the palace. All this may have happened ; but one must be allowed some incredulity, when it is added, that while he was swimming to save his life, he held his own commentaries in his left hand, and his coat of mail with his teeth.

§ 361. Cleopatra was reinstated in her dominion ; and while Cæsar was performing for her this service, he fell into the snares of this fascinating queen, and in her society forgot Rome, empire, and even his own ambition. He remained nine months in Egypt, at a time, when almost every person in Italy, felt that his own destiny depended on that of Cæsar. He had even assented to a splendid and luxurious expedition up the Nile, in company with Cleopatra, when the loudly expressed displeasure of his military followers roused him from his delusion. Some accounts say, that this expedition was made with four hundred galleys. Meanwhile months elapsed, and nothing was heard of Cæsar at Rome. His lieutenant, Mark Antony, had gone thither, and exercised all the powers of government in the name of Cæsar, but abandoning himself, at the same time, to the most disgraceful profligacy. One is reluctant to believe the accounts given of this man's depravity ; and more reluctant still to believe, that Rome itself was already so depraved as to have endured them.

§ 362. On leaving Egypt, Cæsar went to the city of Tarsus, at the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean, intending to regulate his empire there, and proceed thence westwardly, for like purposes, through all Asia Minor, and Greece, to Rome. His long absence from Asia Minor had given opportunity for revolt, and hostility. Pharnaces, son of the celebrated Mithridates, was then king of Pontus, which it will be recollected, is on the south side of the Black Sea, northwardly from the city of Tarsus. Pharnaces ventured to oppose himself to Cæsar, who assembled such forces as he had near at

hand, and soon conquered this enemy. It was in giving an account of this conquest, that he used the well known words, *Veni, vidi, vici*; (I came, I saw, I conquered.) These words made a conspicuous appearance in the triumphal display of his exploits and victories, when he returned to Rome.

§ 363. Cæsar was expected to return to Italy, by the usual route to and from the East, that is, to arrive at Brundisium. At this place a great number of distinguished persons had long been assembled, awaiting his arrival, some to make their peace, some to render their homage, and some to take the chances of new events. It may be that Cæsar expecting this, thought best to come round the south-eastern point of Italy, and land at Tarentum. Among the persons who were waiting at Brundisium, was Cicero. When he heard that Cæsar had landed at Tarentum, he went towards that city, and met Cæsar on his way to Rome. Both left their carriages, saluted each other respectfully, and walked together on the way, and separate from others. It is gathered from Cæsar's letters, that he then made a sort of treaty with Cæsar, under which Cæsar and himself were to let each other alone; and that Cicero should devote himself to philosophy in retirement. It is supposed, that many of the works for which Cicero has been so long and so justly esteemed, by all persons who reverence learning and good morals, were produced in this stipulated seclusion. If this be so, some of the works which proceeded from him, may have been written about the years 48-47 B. C. at his villa of Tusculum, or near the sea-shore, northwardly of Naples, in Campania. Among these works, were the essay on the pleasures of friendship; and that on old age. His work, also, on nature of the gods, is interesting, as giving the sentiments of that time on religion, so near to the time when christianity was revealed. That work of Cicero which has attracted unqualified commendation of all times since, (in which there was intelligence enough to comprehend it,) is called *De Officiis*, (Tully's offices) and is a truly excellent exposition of moral duty. Some of his admirable letters were, perhaps, written about the same period. He did not, however, long remain in seclusion; for in Cæsar's life-time, he again appeared at Rome, engaged in public vocations.

§ 364. Cæsar arrived at Rome, in the year 48 B. C. He employed himself some time in public affairs. After the battle of Pharsalia, the republican leaders, who were with Pompey, there, and those who were fearful of Cæsar's vengeance, had gathered what forces they could command, in Africa, on the borders of the kingdom of Numidia, intending to hold together, with the help of Juba, then the king of that territory. The most distinguished of these persons were Cato, Scipio, Varrus, Labienus, and Petrienus. Cato was the representative of the republican senate of Rome; Scipio of its armies, and Varrus of its maritime power; the other two were military chiefs. Cæsar had assembled his veteran legions near Capua, about ten miles north of Naples, intending to conduct them to Africa, to subdue this remnant of the republican party. These legions became dissatisfied, and proceeded to Rome, defying all opposition. When they came near, Cæsar sent to them to make known that they might come into the city with their arms, (which he could not prevent) and that he would receive them in person.

§ 365. His friends endeavoured to dissuade him from taking so great a hazard; but he persisted in it, and was already in the Campus Martius, placed on an elevation from which he could be seen and heard, when his rebellious legions entered. They crowded around him, and he began by asking of them what they wanted? They answered, their reward, and the performance of promises. He replied by calling them *Quirites*, (fellow citizens) and assuring them that they should have their reward; that they had entitled themselves to repose, and that he would find other legions to accompany him to Africa, and to share with him new victories and honours. But they repelled the name of *Quirites*, and insisted that they were *soldiers*, and that none but themselves should share in his future glory. And thus this remarkable man silenced an armed rebellion, unarmed himself, and by skilful management, converted into a new alliance a war which might soon have brought him to the close of his career.

§ 366. In September, with an audacity which seems always to have stood in place of wisest counsel, with this successful man, he went over to Africa to put down his

opponents there, and bring them to the rank of loyal, or submissive subjects. After many perilous adventures, he triumphed over this band of patriots. The last of Cæsar's victories in Africa brought him to the city of Utica, where Cato's little senate held their councils. This place was directly north of the modern city of Tunis, distant thirty miles, and ten miles north of Carthage, six miles from the sea, and directly south from the island of Sardinia. It was known that Cæsar must be there on a certain day. Cato advised his friends to consult their own feelings, as to making further resistance. At first, it was resolved to sell their lives dearly; but other thoughts took place of these. One after another resolved on submission. Juba, king of Numidia, the ally of the republican party, was among the conquered in this war.

§ 367. Cato was, at this time, forty-eight years old. He was descended from the celebrated Roman whose name he bore, called Cato the Censor, who died about one hundred years before this time. To distinguish this Cato from his ancestor, he is called Cato Uticensis. His life was one of noble exertion to preserve the liberties of his country; and no one of the Romans seems to have been held in higher honour among his countrymen for his inflexible virtues. He was deeply versed in Grecian philosophy, and of the sect called Stoics. One of the distinguishing principles of this sect was, that life is a gift, which any one may lawfully resign, when it is no longer worth preserving. He usually had with him, as companions, some philosophers of this sect. There were two with him at Utica. Cato is said never to have been elated, nor depressed; and never to have laughed. On the evening preceding the arrival of Cæsar, he supped with his friends cheerfully, conversing on philosophical subjects. Some one proposed to him to seek the pardon of Cæsar. He answered, 'I have done him no wrong, I am not an object of his pardon; and shall not request of him as a favour, what it would be insolence in him to offer me.' He retired to his chamber, and having read Plato's discussion on the immortality of the soul, he fell asleep. The next morning he inflicted on himself a wound with his sword, by which he became insensible; and while he was so, his wound was dressed. When he revived, he tore the wound open with his own hands, and expired, 44 B. C.

§ 368. Cæsar returned to Rome. He decreed to himself four successive triumphs in one month. The first, for his victories in Gaul, in which a Gaulish prince was led in fetters. The second, for his victory in Egypt, in which Arsinoë, the sister of Cleopatra, so youthful and beautiful, as to excite the compassion even of the populace, followed at his chariot wheels. The third, for his victory over Pharnaces, designated by large labels bearing his *veni, vidi, vici*. The fourth, for the overthrow of Juba of Numidia, whose infant son was borne in the procession. Two human sacrifices are said to have been offered in the field of Mars. A feast for 20,000 persons was given, and the crowd was so great that two Roman senators were trodden down, and perished. Public shows and gladiatorial combats were presented, and large sums of money were given to the people.

§ 369. He preserved the forms of the republic, but exercised all power himself. He even used the names of senators without consulting them. Cicero says, that he had letters from persons, in distant provinces, of whose names he had never heard, thanking him for bestowing on them the title of king. In one respect he deserves commendation when his conduct is compared with that of Marius and Sylla. He passed a decree of indemnity to all who had opposed him. All parties and persons seemed to vie in the fulsome adulations offered to Cæsar. Among the many things of this nature it was decreed, 'that a crown of gold set with gems, like those of the gods, should be carried before him into the circus, attended with a car like that on which the idols of the gods were carried; that he should be dictator for life, and have the title of Julian Jove.' A temple was erected to him, in conjunction with the goddess of clemency. The priest appointed to the sacred worship of this temple, was none other than the profligate and infamous Mark Antony.

§ 370. Cæsar had not yet subdued all his adversaries. Pompey left a powerful party in Spain. His two sons were there, with considerable forces. It was indispensable to Cæsar's further objects to crush these opponents. He prepared, in the next year, to pass into Spain. This was the second expedition to this country undertaken by him, since his usurpation. He appears to have risked

every thing on his destiny, in this instance, as he did in most others. The sons of Pompey had every inducement to make this a fatal enterprise to Cæsar. They came very near to make it so. In one of his battles there (at Munda,) he found victory turning against him, when he seized a common soldier's sword and buckler, and threw himself into the ranks: 'What,' said he, 'veterans! are we, at last, to be beaten by boys?' One of those lucky accidents which sometimes decide the fate of a battle, then saved him. He afterwards said, that he had often fought for victory, but never before, for his life. One of Pompey's sons was slain, the other wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life. Cæsar returned and decreed to himself a fifth triumph, for his victory in Spain.

§ 371. There was now nothing left for Cæsar's ambition to seek, but to have the *title*, as well as the substance, of royalty. It is not to be doubted that he considered the wearing of a crown indispensable to legitimate his power. This desire was not concealed from his friends, and they were not dull in comprehending his wants. The attempt to crown Cæsar was repeatedly made. The subservient Mark Antony offered the diadem to him in full senate. The feelings expressed by spectators, satisfied Cæsar, that hatred of kings still ran in the blood of the Romans. During the following night, the statues of Cæsar were adorned with crowns, but the prætors (very little to the gratification of Cæsar,) offered a reward for the discovery of those who had so dishonoured the public sentiment.

§ 372. The Parthians, who dwelt around the shores of the Caspian sea, on the south and east, were almost the only people, known to the Romans, whom they had not conquered. The Romans had, for centuries, contended with the Parthians, who seem often to be confounded with the Persians; but they were a distinct people from the Persians, though both these nations seem to have united sometimes, in their warfare against Rome. It was officially announced, as recorded in the 'Sibylline books,' that the Parthians never could be conquered, but by one who had the title of king. But the populace of Rome were deaf to this suggestion. In an odious festival called the Lupercalia, Mark Antony again tendered the crown, and besought Cæsar to accept it as the gift of

the people. But still he discerned, that the people did not intend such a gift. About this time, Cleopatra made a visit to Cæsar, the manner in which he received her, and lived with her, and her own imperial deportment in public, tended to disgust the people with all the indications of royalty, and Cæsar failed to attain to the last step in the ascent; that is, to be crowned king of the Romans.

§ 373. Failing in this ultimate gratification, (though exercising the most absolute authority,) and having nothing more to hope for, Cæsar began to feel how empty and worthless pomp and flattery may be to a mind still aspiring; and how unsatisfying the possession of any extent of power may be, when the possessor is not influenced by any social sentiment, but is given up to motives, entirely selfish. It was Cæsar's fate to know, how miserable a man may be whom all the world envies. To console his chagrin he exercised his power severely, and assumed to control the manners, and the luxuries, of the Romans. He became naturally, and perhaps necessarily, tyrannical. His decrees grew more and more oppressive, and his personal enemies became more and more determined. At last, a part of the republican patriots, who had survived the changes which Cæsar had wrought in Rome, gradually discerned in each other, a sympathy, as his enemies; or rather as the friends of Roman liberty. With the caution which the case demanded, they disclosed themselves to each other, and undertook the hazardous enterprise of ridding their country, of what they called a tyrant; but as it proved, only to give place to another sort of rule, which has claim to stand first in the deliberate wickedness of men.

§ 374. The ides of March (15th) had been assigned for considering in the senate, whether the title of king should be given to Cæsar in the provinces, and that of dictator only, at Rome. The same day was fixed on, by the conspirators, to accomplish their purpose. Among the accounts of the events of this time, so many of them narrate the omens and warnings, which Cæsar had of his fate, that they deserve to be noticed, not as such, but as indicative of the character of the times. Thus it is said, that during the preceding night a strong wind burst open the door of Cæsar's chamber, which awoke him; and

that he was attracted by the agitated sleep of his wife Calphurnia; who being waked by him, said she was dreaming, that he was assassinated in her arms. Spurina, an augur (or diviner of the fates,) warned him to beware of the ides of March. Cæsar was earnestly besought by his wife, and friends, not to go out on that day, and was inclined to yield to their counsels. The conspirators fearing that he would not go to the senate, sent Decimus Brutus to induce him to go. Brutus urged on him the importance of the business to be transacted, and Cæsar departed with Brutus for the capitol. A slave had overheard the conspirators, and endeavoured to make known their plot to Cæsar, but he was prevented by the crowd, from getting near enough to do so. Artemidorus, a Greek philosopher, had also discovered the plot, and passing through the crowd, handed Cæsar a paper which, if it had been read, would have disclosed the whole to him. But this mode of communication being common, Cæsar merely handed the paper to his secretary, to be preserved. When he ascended the steps of the capitol he saw Spurina, and in allusion to his warning, said, in passing, 'The ides of March are come!' 'Yes;' answered Spurina, 'but they are not passed!' Among the proofs of female curiosity, it is related that Portia, the wife of Marcus Brutus, seeing him labouring with some absorbing secret, resolved to be mistress of it. She besought him to reveal it, and finding him silent, or evasive, she made known to him that she had inflicted a deep wound on her own person; that she had suffered from it an agonizing pain, and yet she had so conducted herself, as not even to be suspected of any indisposition. 'And cannot,' said she, 'the daughter of Cato, and wife of Brutus, keep a secret?' Her husband was overcome, and Portia forthwith knew the whole extent of the plot. It is surprising that the whole scheme had not exploded, as so many were involved in it, and the probability of a conspiracy against Cæsar having been so frequently intimated to him by his friends.

§ 375. It was a hazardous enterprise to assassinate Cæsar, who had won to himself many personal friends, and who was strong in power; and, especially, as it seems that this work could only be done in the most public manner. The conspirators, it appears, as in all such ca-

ses, were repeatedly and seriously alarmed; and sometimes believed that their purpose was not only suspected, but entirely disclosed. Portia was not so much at ease with her secret, as she had been with her wound; for after Cæsar had gone to the capitol, she ran into the street, and, in an almost frantic manner, asked of those who passed, what was doing in the senate chamber, and whether they had seen Brutus, and whether he was safe; till, at length, unable to bear longer her excessive agitation, she swooned in the street, and was carried, insensible, to her home. This lady, it may be added, was one of the victims of the conspiracy. In the future detail of events, she found it expedient to kill herself, which she did, (having no other means at hand,) by swallowing burning coals.

§ 376. The manner and place of Cæsar's death, seem to have secured to him the sympathy of all subsequent ages. The moral right, or wrong, of killing Cæsar, is a question open to discussion. If the agents in this tragedy knew, that Rome could return to republican forms, and it had been found, that the people were capable of governing themselves, one would find no difficulty in justifying the conspirators. This point they seem entirely to have overlooked, and they only increased, to a deplorable extent, the miseries of their country. That in which historians seem to concur, is this; that Marcus Brutus, Caius Cassius, Decimus Brutus, C. L. Casca, Metellus Cimber, and fifty-five others, were the persons who undertook to kill Cæsar, in the senate house. Cæsar being seated in the chair of state, near to Pompey's statue, Cimber presented a petition for the pardon of his brother, which Cæsar refused; and while Cimber was pressing for a favourable decree, he took hold of Cæsar's robe, seemingly as a suppliant, but in reality to hold him down, and at the same time flung back his own gown from his shoulders. Other accounts say it was Cæsar's gown that he threw back. This act of Cimber is said to have been indicative of the moment when the conspirators were to strike. The first blow came from Casca. Cæsar started, and thrust Cimber from him with one arm, and laid hold on Casca with the other; but the conspirators closed in upon him, and he saw that resistance was in vain. Seeing Decimus Brutus among the armed

against him, who was reputed to be his own son, he said, *Et tu Brute!* (*And you, Brutus!*) But some historians report the expression used by Cæsar to have been this: 'And you too! my son!' Then perceiving that his hour was come, according to the manner of the Romans in dying, he gathered his robe around him, and fell under repeated blows, at the foot of Pompey's statue, on the 15th March, 44 B. C., in his fifty-sixth year.

§ 377. This wholly unexpected and astonishing event, threw Rome into the utmost consternation. No provisions had been made by the conspirators, for the establishment of any government. They were soon awakened to a sense of their error, by perceiving that they had around them at least as many foes as friends; and that the day had gone by, in which Romans would hail the destruction of a despot, as the restoration of a republic. Their own personal safety was pressed upon their notice, and they retired in a body to the capitol, and shut themselves up. Meanwhile, all was tumult and confusion. Some were mourning over Cæsar, some venting their reproaches on the conspirators, some consulting what the exigency demanded. The following day, some communications passed between the senators and the conspirators, and it was agreed that Marcus Brutus should address the people, from the steps of the capitol, and explain the meaning of killing Cæsar. This was done; but was not followed by a restoration of the republic, nor of any regular government. The remarkable expedient was resorted to of permitting Cæsar's will to prescribe a government for the Romans, though they would not let him live and rule. Mark Antony obtained possession of the will, and displayed talent and ingenuity, not to have been expected from so worthless a person. He made an oration over the dead body of Cæsar, and with no inconsiderable art and effect, according to historical accounts. Whatsoever speech he may have made for himself, on this occasion, that which Shakspeare made for him nearly 1650 years afterwards, is likely to make his name known, as long as the genius of this poetical historian shall be admired. He was orator enough to touch the hearts of the Roman populace; and they soon came to the belief, that Cæsar had been cruelly and wickedly slain; and that Rome had lost the first and greatest man

of whom it could ever boast, and themselves, the most munificent benefactor they ever had. The sighs and tears that Antony drew forth over fallen Cæsar, warned the conspirators that Rome was no place for them, and they sought safety in flight. A citizen named Cinna, who was mistaken for the conspirator of that name, was torn in pieces by the populace. It was now discerned, by these clear-sighted people, how great and good Cæsar was; and all Rome devoted itself to render him due honour in funeral obsequies.

§ 378. The character of Cæsar has been drawn by many delineators, each one perceiving the traits of Cæsar according to his own lights, or to answer his own purposes, on the occasion which prompted him to write. It is not perceived, that it is of much importance to know more of Cæsar, than that he aspired, in a corrupt and broken-down republic, to become a king; and that some of his fellow-citizens, from good or bad motives, from patriotism, envy, personal enmity, or from all these causes combined, had fellow feeling enough, as to his personal presence, and acquired power, to conspire and put him to death; that they effected their purposes; plunged their country into the most deplorable calamities; and that each one of the whole number thereby laid the foundation of his own death, by some sort of violence, either voluntary or inevitable.

§ 379. But as Cæsar was a person so eminent as to be frequently mentioned, or referred to, it may be worth while to condense the historical accounts of him, without any other solicitude than to state, on the most approved authorities, what seems to be nearest the truth. In his person, Cæsar was tall, slender, and fair. In his early manhood, he was a man of many pleasures, not to say a profligate. He was, nevertheless, a man of great intellectual attainments; and if he had devoted himself to study, and to eloquence, as Cicero did, he might have been the equal, if not the superior, of the first of Roman orators. According to Cicero, who seems to have been in a proper position to judge of him, we are informed; 'I discovered in all his enterprises, and in his whole conduct, a plan, continually pursued, of raising himself to the tyranny. But when I saw him so soft in his dress, and manner of living, with effeminate gestures, and his

hair in such nice order, I could not believe, that such a man was capable of forming and executing the design of subverting the Roman commonwealth.'

§ 380. If he is to be judged of as a soldier, by the variety and number of his campaigns and his battles, where often the most consummate skill, and a courage approaching to rashness, were exhibited; and his almost invariable success; and by that most eminent of all qualities, the power of commanding the confidence and the affections of other men, it may be just to give him a rank, at least equal to that of any military chief of any age. In the power of using his acquirements, and of doing what he desired to do, he has had few superiors. He was rapid and effective, in body and mind. He could dictate to three secretaries, at the same time, on three entirely different subjects. Perhaps he may have been excelled in this respect. He was indefatigably industrious. In this he was the equal of his (probable) imitator, Napoleon; in scholarship, and intellectual refinement, greatly his superior. He is known to have been a writer on grammar, astronomy, religious polity, history, and poetry; though none of his works have escaped the ravages of time, but some of his epistles and 'commentaries,' that is, his history of the Gallic and civil wars. He corrected the Calendar, with advice of learned men, and established the 'Julian year.' The month of July is supposed to bear that name from him.

§ 381. There does not appear to be any evidence of what Cicero so clearly foresaw, (after it had happened,) a settled design from the beginning, 'of raising himself to the tyranny.' Men rarely see so far ahead in affairs. The events and prospects of a short space of time, are usually enough to fill any mind, in great political movements. It is rather to be supposed, that as he advanced in his career, new scenes and new expectations opened to his view. It is giving Cæsar credit for more far-sightedness than belongs to human nature, to suppose, that while he was killing off the Gauls beyond the Alps, he had his eye fixed on a diadem at Rome. This is precisely the peril to which nations are subjected. A successful and aspiring individual goes on from step to step, and is no less surprised, than those who look on are, to perceive how far he has advanced; and that like Cæsar he

cannot retrace his steps, but must assume the power now within his reach. The only safety in a republic is, to discern and to reprobate, the first step beyond the limit of lawful authority. The world has been dazzled by the transcendent abilities of Cæsar; and is, in general, much more disposed to render its homage to the power to do, what very few can do, than to the good use which is made of such power. It is probable that the admirers of Napoleon have had their powers of vision very much impaired, in looking at the splendour of his glory. If we take from Cæsar his military renown, and justly weigh his public acts, what is there to admire in Cæsar? On the other hand, if we regard him as a man, or as a moral and social agent, we may perhaps be disposed to adopt the opinion of one who has estimated the worth of his character in these words: 'His private conduct would be a very bad model; his whole life was a scene of rapine, extortion, luxury, and profusion; and shows, throughout, a devotedness to all kinds of scandalous debaucheries.' Yet, it must not be overlooked, that Cæsar lived at the most debased and corrupt age that the world has hitherto experienced; and when moral worth was not a facility, but a hindrance, in obtaining any thing which could be the subject of desire.

CHAPTER XXVI.

From the death of Cæsar, (44 B. C.) to the death of Augustus in the 14th year of the Christian era, (or A. C. 14.)

§ 382. THE principal heir named in Cæsar's will, was Caius Octavius, son of a person of the same name, and of Accia, a daughter of Julia, who was Cæsar's sister. Octavius was required to take the name of his great uncle, and was thence called Caius Julius Cæsar Octavius. When Cæsar fell, this person was eighteen years of age, and was then at the Grecian city of Apollonia, where he was engaged in the study of philosophy, and where he received the news of his uncle's death. This youth immediately went to Rome, and there displayed talent, duplicity and boldness, not to be expected from one of his years. He found Mark Antony, in the character of representative of Cæsar, and in possession of his will and property, and obviously preparing to copy Cæsar's usurpation.

§ 383. He demanded of Antony the money of Cæsar which Antony had taken; and the payment of Cæsar's legacies to the people; and, Antony not complying, Octavius sold his patrimony, and applied its proceeds in payment, and promised to make up all deficiencies when he could. Thus Antony and Octavius became bitter enemies. The senate, being fearful of Antony's designs, favoured the efforts of Octavius to strengthen himself in his purposes, and saw with complacency, that he had made himself a favourite with the people, and with the veteran legions of Cæsar. In this state of things, Antony left Rome to take the government of the territory called Cisalpine Gaul, which lies between the Alps and the north part of the Peninsula of Italy. There was then a Roman army in what is now Germany, (then Gaul,) commanded by an inferior person named Lepidus. It was soon apparent, what Antony intended. The senate declared him an enemy of his country. Cicero made his celebrated orations against Antony at this period. Oc-

tavius had found the way to the heart of Cicero, and rejoiced that Rome had so experienced, so wise, and so eloquent a defender; and even affected to be governed entirely by Cicero's counsel. Two armies had been sent against Antony, led by two consuls, both of whom fell in battle. Octavius, though only twenty years of age, had been made consul, and on the death of these two consuls, united their armies, and took the supreme command. The army of Lepidus had come over the Alps, and was united with all that remained of Antony's forces. The army which Octavius commanded was that sent forth by the senate, to defend the republic; that of Antony and Lepidus, was such a one as Cæsar commanded when he crossed the Rubicon.

§ 384. Who could doubt that Octavius and Antony would do their utmost to destroy each other; the one that he might triumph over his personal enemy, and receive the applause of Cicero, the gratitude of the senate, and the highest honours in Rome; the other, that he might crush a stripling upstart, and proceed to Rome as its master, and be the liberal dispenser of his own honours. The armies came in sight of each other on the opposite sides of a small river, called the Lavinus, (some say the Penarus) supposed to be one of the southern branches of the Po; but no battle ensued, nor was there a symptom of hostility between these inveterate foes. All that met the eye was, that small bridges were built from the banks of the river, on each side, to an elevated island, so that both armies could see what might be doing there. To this island Lepidus, Antony, and Octavius were seen to go, and beyond the hearing of any persons but themselves, to hold a conference, which continued through three successive days. When it closed, such representations were made to the armies as the case required. It afterwards appeared, that in this conference the whole Roman empire, with all its people, and property, had been constituted and made a joint stock for this new partnership to deal with, and use, at their own pleasure, and without any other rules of government, than such as they saw fit to make. Each party had to make some concessions to the other; that is, the friends of each one were, of course, enemies of the other two; and it was indispensable that the enemies of all three of them, should

be exterminated. Therefore Octavius gave up his friend Cicero, whom Antony hated ; and also his own guardian Thoranius. Lepidus gave up his own brother, Lucius Paulus. Antony sacrificed his uncle, Lucius Cæsar. Besides these, each party named whom he pleased for destruction, so that a list of 300 senators, and 2,000 equestrians, besides many of less note, and including the best men remaining in Rome, was completed. This list was to be farther increased, as the parties might find convenient. To bind the contract, Antony betrothed his step-daughter, Fulvia, to Octavius, an arrangement which Octavius had no intention to regard. The armies, though composed of *Roman citizens*, readily adopted the views of their leaders ; a terrible example of what armies may become. The union of these three men is called the *second triumvirate*.

§ 385. Bands of assassins were immediately sent to Rome. The united armies followed. The plot of the triumvirate was neither known nor suspected. The first intimation had of it, was the slaughter of the proscribed. As it was not known who were, and who were not to be slain, the consternation was universal. Every one who supposed himself marked for death, sought safety, or concealment, as resistance was not practicable. The details of these massacres are truly shocking ; and the instances of affection, and domestic misery, exceedingly touching. The attack of cities, and consequent slaughter, in civil and international war, are of familiar occurrence. So also, the proscription and slaughter of persons, under sanction of public authority, as in the time of Marius and Sylla. But the sending of an armed banditti into a city containing more than three millions of persons, with orders to kill some thousands without trial, accusation, or notice, and with permission, of course, to kill whomsoever they might choose to kill, is, probably, a case that stands alone in the history of the world. While this work was going on in Rome, detachments were sent throughout Italy. Cicero had good reason to suppose that his destruction was intended. Being then at his villa, near Capua, he attempted to escape in a vessel ; but the wind being adverse, and the sea very troublesome to him, on account of age and sickness, he desired to be put on shore for the night. Next morning his at-

tendants were carrying him in a litter to the vessel, when the footsteps of his pursuers were heard. Perceiving who they were, he ordered his litter to stop, and stretching out his head, it fell at a single blow. He so perished in his sixty-fourth year, 43 B. C. Antony placed his head on the rostrum, from which his eloquence had been so often heard.

§ 386. The triumvirate, fearing nothing, and commanding every thing, proceeded leisurely to exterminate their adversaries, and to enrich themselves by the most oppressive exactions. The term of their partnership was five years. Antony was to command in Gaul, Lepidus in Spain, Octavius in Africa, and in the Mediterranean isles. Italy and the East were to be in common. The eastern provinces were so held, because thither Brutus and Cassius had gone, who were yet to be subdued. There were many young Romans in Greece, engaged in their studies. These Brutus assembled, with many other persons; and Cassius went farther east, and gathered such forces as he could, and a very formidable army was assembled under these two republicans. Antony and Octavius led an army from Italy, to meet that of Brutus and Cassius. This event occurred at Philippi, on the borders of Thrace and Macedonia; and here was shed the last blood of republican Rome. This great battle was fought in the year 42 B. C.*

§ 387. The victory was a long time doubtful. One wing of each army was defeated; but, at last, the republicans were vanquished. In considering the events of this interesting contest, it is obvious how much the fate of a battle depends on incidents and circumstances which cannot be foreseen, but of which military talent alone can take advantage. In this are found the comparative merits of generalship. Brutus and Cassius ought to have been conquerors, and would have been so, if they had known, during the battle, how their respective wings were contending. But, to what use would they have been victors? Rome was unworthy of such men. It was fit only to be governed by such men as composed the trium-

* This is the same place at which the gospel was first preached in Europe; St Paul preached here A. D. 51. The Epistle of Paul to the Philippians was written to the church here.

virate. Brutus and Cassius died here ; not in this hard fought battle, but after their defeat, by their own hands ; or, (as some say) by the friendly acts of their attendants. Brutus is commended by historians for noble virtues, the highest intellectual improvement, and the most amiable qualities. Sometime before the battle, a spectre was said to have appeared to him in his tent, which called itself his evil genius. — In parting, it said, ‘ We shall meet again at Philippi.’ If any such thing happened, it was one of those illusions which a high state of excitement engenders, and which are as likely to occur in a great mind, as in one of different order, when great events are depending.

§ 388. The triumvirate being completely successful, they had only to punish their victims, and to give themselves up to the enjoyment of their power. Octavius went back to Italy, and Antony went through Asia Minor, in a kind of triumphal journey, receiving homage, inflicting punishments, and dispensing kingdoms and provinces. The island of Cyprus was then under Egyptian government. Antony called its governor to account, for having aided Brutus and Cassius. Cleopatra was near by, and prepared to appear, in person, to defend her governor. Antony had established a sort of royal court at Tarsus, on the river Cydnus. Cleopatra (then twenty-seven years old) came down the river in a galley richly ornamented with gold, the sails of purple silk, the oars covered over with plates of silver, and which moved to the sound of flutes and cymbals. She reclined on a couch richly adorned with emblems, which poets and painters appropriate to Venus. Beautiful boys, as Cupids, and young females, as Nymphs and Graces, were in attendance. One who had caught Cæsar, and young Pompey, in her web, had but light labour in binding Antony.

§ 389. Antony having accompanied Cleopatra to Egypt, gave himself up to the fascinations of her society, and conducted himself just as Octavius must have desired that he should do ; that is, in neglecting his own interests, and in disqualifying himself to contend with the future emperor of the Romans. The first care of Octavius was to get rid of Lepidus, who was then in Sicily, with several legions. This troublesome member of the partnership set up some pretensions in favour of his own legions,

as to the share of the spoils, which gave Octavius an opportunity to quarrel with him. Octavius went to Sicily, and in the presence of the soldiers upbraided Lepidus with his conduct; and without giving him time to reply, seized a standard, and flourished it in the air, and called on the legions to adhere to one who knew how to reward them. The astonished Lepidus saw himself immediately deserted; and his whole army under the command of Octavius. Though Lepidus was then Pontifex Maximus, he seems to have been an inferior person, and introduced into the triumvirate as a convenient third party to balance the other two, who were always distrustful of each other. Lepidus was glad to compromise with Octavius for seclusion and private life. He retired to a distant island in the Mediterranean, and is no more heard of in Roman history.

§ 390. One of the most touching uses of despotic power recorded in history, is found in the measures pursued by Octavius, to reward his veteran legions. The owners of the fairest portions of Italy, were driven from their estates, that the soldiers of Octavius might enjoy them. Mournful suppliants thronged to Rome; women, bearing their children in their arms, filled the temples, and public squares, with cries and lamentations. Among the dispossessed on this occasion, was the poet Virgil, who had an ancient inheritance near the city of Mantua, in the north of Italy, whence he is sometimes called the Mantuan bard. The interference of Macænas is said to have obtained for him the restoration of his little farm. The plaintive lines which are read in the first eclogue of the *Bucolics*, (pastorals) are descriptive of the sorrows of Italy, and especially of those of the poet, arising from this flagrant exercise of military despotism by one class of persons over their own countrymen. The manner of Virgil's lamentation may be seen in these words:

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
 Barbarus has sagetes? En quo discordia cives
 Perduxit miseros! en queis consequimus agros!
 Insere nunc, nelibæe, pyros, pone ordine vites:
 Ite meæ, felix quondam pecus, ite capellæ.
 Non ego vos posthac, viridi projectus in antro
 Dumosâ pendere procul de rupe videbo:

Carmina nulla canam : non, me pascente, capellæ
Florentem cytisum et salices carpetis amaras.

Dryden's Translation.

Did we for these Barbarians ! plant and sow ?
On these ! on these ! our happy fields bestow !
Good heav'n ! what dire effects from civil discord flow !
Now let me graft my pears, and prune the vine ;
The fruit is theirs, the labour only, mine.
Farewell ! my pastures, my paternal stock,
My fruitful fields, and my more fruitful flock.
No more, my goats, shall I behold you climb
The steepy cliffs, or crop the flow'ry thyme ;
No more, extended in the grot below,
Shall see you feeding on the mountain's brow
On prickly shrubs ; and after on the bare,
Lean down the deep abyss, and hang in air.
No more *my* sheep shall sip the morning dew,
No more my song shall please the rural crew.
Adieu ! my tuneful pipe ! and all the world, adieu !

§ 391. Octavius having now only Antony to contend with, he sought the means of quarrelling with him, and easily found them. Antony, provoked by the conduct of Octavius, prepared to meet him as an enemy. Accompanied by Cleopatra, and a retinue of actors, musicians, and ministers of pleasure, in oriental magnificence, he appeared in Asia Minor, and gathered a powerful army, and a numerous fleet, and moved over to Greece, with the intention of going to Rome, and of chastising and deposing Octavius. But the latter did not wait for him in Italy. He drew forth his legions, and equipped his naval forces, and went to meet his former associate, but always his enemy, in Greece. The two armies were on the opposite sides of the gulf of Corinth. The two fleets came in contact at the western end of this gulf, in the Adriatic sea, and near to a promontory, on the north side, called Actium. Here occurred the battle of Actium, between the fleets, the two armies being only spectators. The fleet of Antony was nearly double in force to that of Octavius, and part of it consisted of fifty Egyptian galleys, furnished by Cleopatra, in one of which galleys she had embarked herself. Both Antony and Octavius conducted the battle personally, in their respective fleets. In the midst of the conflict, Antony perceived that Cleopatra, (probably yielding to the feelings natural

to her sex in such a scene) had fled with her galleys, and caring more for her, apparently, than for the fate of the battle, he fled after her, and thus *gave* the victory to Octavius. This battle occurred on the 2d Sep. in the year 31 B. C. The army of Antony, careless whom they served, hailed the victor as their chief.

§ 392. Antony had been revelling in oriental luxury in Egypt several years before this battle. He was, in effect, the king of Egypt. The splendours of royalty had long been familiar to the people of this country. They had a kind of property in them; and were proud of them.* The voluptuous Queen, versed in the learning of Greece, had the power and the will to robe the sensualities to which she was prone, in all the elegant conceptions of poetry. What Cleopatra and Antony had done, were doing, and intended to do, was occupation enough for a whole community. Whether affection or interest governed this accomplished female, she was fertile in schemes of pleasure to hold Antony in his servile adoration. Human ingenuity was never more thoroughly tasked, to detain the zest of enjoyment which perishes in the using, or from which familiarity compels it to fly.

§ 393. This fatal illusion was dispelled in a single hour. Antony and Cleopatra terrified and disconsolate, perceived that they had fallen from the rank of deities, who had favoured the earth with their presence, to the level of mortals, who could not find on its surface one place of safety or repose. They hastened to Egypt, and there exhibited as much of irresolution and weakness, as they had shown of contempt for earthly vicissitudes, in their years of voluptuous splendour. Octavius was not slow in the pursuit. It was now seventeen years since Cæsar had pursued Pompey to the same shores, and felt, while there, that the world was all his own. Octavius was to enjoy the same self gratulation, in the same place, when Antony should become as harmless as Pompey. The last hope of Cleopatra, for there was none

* A subject of the Emperor of Morocco was comparing the liberty of which Englishmen are so proud, with the better condition of men in his own country; and honestly boasted, that he lived in a land, where his glorious master could take any man's head off at his pleasure.

to Antony, was to try her power of fascination on Octavius, and bring him to the bondage, which had disgraced Cæsar. With such design, she obtained an interview with Octavius. But this cool, calculating manager, would not meet the suppliant glance of Cleopatra, nor permit his eyes to encounter the prepared blandishments of her person. He kept them fixed on the ground, and by deceitful assurances, endeavoured to persuade her to live and to repose in his generosity. The best measures he could devise, were resorted to to put it out of her power to die, and so deprive him of this captive Queen, in chains, as an ornament of his triumphal entry into Rome, as Cæsar had graced his triumph with her youthful sister Arsinoë. But in this he was sadly disappointed. She knew him, and Rome and Romans too well, to be carried from her own shores alive. By an ingenuity, which escaped the vigilance of Octavius, a small serpent, peculiar to Egypt, was conveyed to her, hidden in a basket of figs, and with the help of its venomous bite, she left Octavius a sincere mourner for her death. Antony escaped his conqueror by the use of his own sword. After he had given himself a fatal wound, he was carried, at his request, to the tower in which Cleopatra had secured herself, and was drawn by herself and women, with the help of cords, to a window, and taken in, and there presently expired. Octavius placed this remarkable pair, side by side in a monument which Cleopatra had previously constructed. Thus Egypt was reduced to a province of the Roman Empire; and thus ended the royal race of Ptolemies in this ancient realm, wherein they had reigned nearly three centuries. Octavius arranged his affairs in the East, and then returned to Rome, which he entered in magnificent triumph. The picture of Cleopatra was borne in the procession, as the original had escaped the power of Octavius. It might have been expected from the youthful conduct of Octavius, and from the savage delight which he then seemed to have in the shedding of blood, that the pleasures of his unrestrained authority would have appeared in the number of his victims. This did not prove to be so. The only persons whom he destroyed, were a son of Antony and Fulvia; and Cæsarion a son of Cæsar and Cleopatra.

§ 394. As great battles are a sort of landmarks in history, and especially such as are followed by great changes in the condition of the world, it may be worth while again to mention the time and place of the three great conflicts which opened the way for Octavius to universal empire. All of these were fought on Grecian territory, or seas. The first, that of Pharsalia, was fought in the middle of Thessaly, at that time called Macedonia, on the 12th of May, 48 B. C., between Cæsar and Pompey, 155 miles southwest of Philippi. The second, that of Philippi, which place is at the upper or northern end of the Ægean sea, now called the Archipelago, 220 miles west of ancient Byzantium, now Constantinople, fought in the year 42 B. C. between Octavius and Antony on the one side, and Brutus and Cassius on the other. The third, the naval battle of Actium, fought on the west side of Greece, at the mouth of the gulf of Corinth, about 80 miles southwest of Pharsalia, on the 2d of September 31 B. C., between Octavius and Antony.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Reign of the Roman Emperors.

§395. If Cæsar is to be considered the first, then Octavius was the second of the emperors. It is, however, commonly understood by historians, that the imperial government began with Octavius, for Cæsar seemed to have intended to be a king. The reign of Octavius is spoken of historically, as that of *Augustus*, which name was afterwards given to this person by the senate. The name is supposed to imply something sacred, and to have been taken from *augury*. The name of one of the months was taken from Augustus, being that in which he died. He was about 32 years of age when he became Emperor, and he reigned 44. Rome, the seat of empire, was then computed to contain 4,063,000 inhabitants. His dominions were the richest and most extensive that any one man ever controlled. It comprised all Europe, Africa, and Asia, except those parts which the barbarians, and the people of the extreme east, possessed. The revenues of the empire were of the annual value of 180,000,000 of dollars.

§ 396. From the time that Augustus was thus firmly established in power, no more is heard, during his reign, of tumults, seditions, or republicanism. There were many wars in the north and west with the barbarians; and there was rarely peace, for centuries, on the eastern limits of the empire. But there is neither instruction nor pleasure, in following out the detail of these events. Who commanded, and how many were slain, on the one side or the other, is not a subject of worthy curiosity. Time devoted to the history of battles, which led to no consequences affecting the condition of mankind, is certainly misspent.

§ 397. Octavius being able to choose what he would have, and what he would be, and by what name distinguished, appears to have chosen wisely. The appellation

of Imperator (commander) was familiar to the Romans. By that name, the soldiers had long been accustomed to hail a victorious chief on the field of battle. From that name, the title Emperor was assumed by Augustus, in reference to his command of the armies. It will be remembered, that the office of tribune was introduced in the Roman government, at an early age, to designate an officer whose special duty it was, to protect the tribes (*Tribunus*, a tribe) of the people, from the rapacity or tyranny of the nobles. Augustus took the title of tribune, that he might command the people. He continued the senate, but took the title of prince, (first, or chief,) that he might preside in the senate, and control the course of legislation. He was, necessarily, master of the revenues of the empire. There remained nothing to add to these powers, (which included all legislative, executive, and supreme judicial power,) but that he should shield himself with the title and authority of Pontifex Maximus (chief priest) which was another coat of mail for his personal security. This title he assumed after the death of his former associate Lepidus, (who was one of the second triumvirate, and who died in exile,) before whose death, it seems, it could not be assumed. Thus he did not, like Cæsar, sigh for a crown, but quietly possessed himself, in modes which excited no alarm or jealousy, of absolute power. It must be admitted that he used it well for himself, and beneficially for his subjects. Yet, in his care of himself, and in providing the means of defence against all seditious and rebellious movements, he established a power which became sovereign over that which it was formed to protect.

§ 398. Augustus selected the most confidential of his legions, and doubled their pay, and gave a part of them a place of abode just without the walls of the city, on the broad summit of the Quirinal Hill. They were in all about sixteen thousand, and are known in future Roman history by the name of the prætorian band; and their abode was called the prætorian camp. This powerful body were attached to him by gifts, by desired distinctions, and by the spirit of mutual dependence, which naturally grows up between soldiers and their chief. They were a faithful protection to his person, while they

overawed the senate, and kept the populace in humble subjection. He began by having a small portion only, of these troops in the prætorian camp. The residue were conveniently disposed of in different parts of Italy. The number at Rome was gradually increased; and in the reign of his successor, all of them were drawn to Rome, and were ever after masters of the empire. They exacted of every new emperor a sort of tribute, as though he reigned by their authority or permission; and at last, actually sold the empire to the highest bidder.

§ 399. The new emperor was never much inclined to gather laurels, where his person would be endangered; but is thought to have been deficient in the soldierly spirit, which Romans held in the highest esteem. Thus, in the battle of Philippi, he kept himself out of harm's way, on pretence of being too much indisposed to engage in battle. To such causes may be referred the pacific character of his reign, and his assiduous cultivation of peaceful improvements. Hence we hear of the *Augustan age*, as being that in which the arts, sciences, and elegant ornaments of social life, flourished. The *Eternal City* became the successor of Alexandria, as that was of Athens, in being the seat of intellectual empire. In this age are found the names of Horace, Virgil, Pollio, Mæcenas, Strabo, Livy, Tibullus, Ovid, and many others. The last named offended the emperor, and he was banished to the inhospitable region of Thrace, a little north of the mouths of the Danube, of which lonely exile he makes mournful complaint. This was also the age of excessive luxury, though it had yet some chastening, from the literary character of the times.

§ 400. Among the constant friends and principal advisers of Augustus, was Caius Cilneus Mæcenas, the same, whose name will be known as long as Horace's odes or Virgil's verse are read. He was a rich, well informed, luxurious Roman, who loved everything that was pleasant to the mind, or to the senses; but yet was capable of assiduous, and continued labour. Augustus made him very wealthy, without giving him much distinction and responsibility of office, which he does not appear to have coveted. A very confidential intercourse

was maintained between them. Mæcenas tried its character severely, at an early period. At the commencement of the triumvirate, Augustus was on the tribunal seat, pronouncing sentence after sentence of death, on Roman citizens. Mæcenas was a spectator. He ventured to write on a tablet, and hand to Augustus the words, surge, tandem, carnifex ! (Rise, at length, executioner !) The suggestion was kindly taken, and the condemnations, for that time, ceased. From policy, from improvement of disposition, or from respect for the opinions of better men than himself, it is apparent that Augustus endeavoured, by his conduct as emperor, to remove the odium which accompanied his ascent to power. Certainly Rome had not seen so many peaceful happy days, in many centuries, as were seen in the reign of Augustus.

§ 401. For the third time only, since the building of the city, now more than 700 years, the temple of Janus was closed. Persons thronged to elegant and luxurious Rome, from the provinces. The population daily fed in Rome, according to some accounts, exceeded one third of the present population of the United States, that is it was between four and five millions. Gibbon, it must be noticed, discredits these accounts of numbers. Augustus said he found Rome a city of brick, and should leave it a city of marble. At this time the riches of private individuals are astonishing, especially in skilful and useful slaves. Many of them were instructed in the liberal sciences, and were highly valued for their knowledge in the arts. The most eminent physicians were slaves. The degree of luxury may be judged of by the number of slaves employed in one dwelling. Four hundred were executed, because, being the domestic servants of a palace, they did not (as it was presumed they might) prevent the murder of their master. It was common for one person to own as many as 2000 slaves ; and some persons owned 4000. Gibbon says, that in the reign of Augustus, a person, who was himself a freed man, and whose fortunes had been much impaired during the civil wars, owned 3600 yoke of oxen, 250,000 of smaller cattle ; and 4116 slaves.

§ 402. Something of Roman morals may be discerned in the fact, that Augustus divorced Scribonia, his third

wife, and compelled Claudius Nero to give up to him, his wife Livia. This female was beloved by her new husband, if he was capable of feeling such sentiment for any one. She seems to have been little worthy of love herself, though she dwelt with Augustus to the end of his life, and received his parting sigh. Yet she was suspected of hastening his death, to make way for her infamous son Tiberius. With all his splendour, this emperor had many afflictions which no splendour can console or mitigate. Two grandsons, whom he intended as successors, and a favourite son of Livia, by Clodius, whom he also so intended, died young. His own daughter Julia, was so profligate and infamous, that he was compelled to exile, and abandon her. He had no resource but to leave his empire to Tiberius, a son of Livia, whom he knew to be a bad man, and unfit to be trusted with power. Emperors cannot look into futurity more certainly than common men can. But Augustus supposed, that by making a testamentary provision, his wisdom and influence might be felt in the government, though he must be personally withdrawn from it. He directed, among other things, that no attempt should be made to extend the limits of the empire.

§ 403. Finding his strength departing he took a journey through Campania, and went to attend the games at Naples; but without recruiting; and having arrived at the ancient city of Nola, on the way from Naples to Rome, he died there, in the month of August A. D. 14, in the 76th year of his age, and 44th of his reign. Perceiving that his career was closing, he asked those around him (in theatrical phrase) whether he had played his part well? — and being assured that he had, he replied in the manner of an actor retiring from the stage, *valete! plaudite!* (Farewell! applaud me!) In reference to the beginning and to the end of this man's life, it was said of him, 'It would have been good for mankind, if he had never been born, or had never died.'

§ 404. In Elton's history of the Roman emperors, the person of Augustus is described as comely, and well proportioned; of middle stature; his nose aquiline; eyebrows meeting; complexion fair; hair slightly curled, and inclining to yellow; teeth a little straggling, and uneven; eyes clear and brilliant. He had the vanity to

be pleased if any one looked down, as though dazzled by his fixed gaze. His countenance had a serene expression. It is said of him, that he indulged privately in any sort of vice, without scruple, but was outwardly religious and exemplary. He was not luxurious at table, but rather abstemious. The amusement derived from buffoons, dancers, and story tellers, was not indifferent to him. Habitual industry was one of his qualities. He was exceedingly superstitious, and had great dread of thunder and lightning; as a protection, he wore a seal skin next his body; and retired, during a thunder storm, to a subterraneous apartment. In winter, he wore a woollen throat muffler and stomacher, and rollers for his legs. In summer, his bed was placed in an open portico, near a fountain, and he was fanned while sleeping. Thus, it seems, that the analysis of an emperor, even the best of them, brings him down, at last, to the common level of mankind.

§ 405. Rome, no doubt, very sincerely mourned the loss of Augustus; and if Romans could have known what was to come next, their grief might well have been intense. They numbered their deceased mortal among the gods; temples and altars were consecrated to him. He was buried with the utmost magnificence, in a mausoleum prepared by himself. It has been said that one of the beautiful relics of ancient grandeur, called the Rotunda or Pantheon, which still adorns Rome, in good preservation, was built by Agrippa, for the tomb of Augustus. This was undoubtedly a work of Agrippa, and built in the time of Augustus, and probably in honour of him; as Agrippa was son in law, military chief, constant friend, and faithful adviser, of the emperor. At one time, the opinions of this friend, and of Mæcenas, were asked, seriously or deceitfully, whether it would be best for him (Augustus) to abdicate his power, and restore the republic. Agrippa advised him to do so; but Mæcenas was of a different opinion; and was probably sagacious enough to discern what opinion would be most acceptable.

§ 406. The qualities, the motives, and the acts of Augustus, have been much discussed, and various opinions have been expressed. The elements which make up that compound called character, may appear very dif-

ferent to different observers ; and though there may be strong traits, which undergo little change, even in a long life, yet, the very different circumstances in which a man is seen in the course of life, almost shake one's belief in his identity. No two men could differ more than young Octavius, and old Augustus. In contemplating the administration of this person, one rather feels gratified that he did no worse, than respectful towards him, that he did so well. Whatever good he may have done, the impression cannot be effaced, that he was an unfeeling and selfish conspirator, in early life, against the best men in Rome ; and afterwards, a perfidious member of a vile and abominable partnership, instituted for the purpose of crushing the liberty of his country, and raising on the ruins, a bloody and relentless tyranny. The summing up his qualities by Gibbon, will probably be assented to by most persons who think Augustus worth studying. 'A cool head, an unfeeling heart, and a cowardly disposition, prompted him, at the age of nineteen, to assume the mask of hypocrisy, which he never afterwards laid aside. His virtues, and even his vices, were artificial ; and according to the various dictates of his interest, he was at first the enemy, and at last, the Father of the Roman world.'

CHAPTER XXVIII.

From the death of Augustus, A. D. 14, to the death of Constantine the Great, A. D. 337.

§ 407. IN the long, and comparatively tranquil reign of Augustus, an opportunity seems to have occurred for reforming the constitutional powers of government, and preventing the calamities which are presently to be noticed. This would have been an achievement worthy of the high authority to which this emperor had attained. Whether such a measure was or was not practicable, can be imperfectly judged of, through the mists of ages. No attempt to this effect appears to have been made, and the empire was left to its destiny. It resembled a man of vigorous physical power, and of elevated intellect, but depraved heart, contending with fatal disease; sometimes arresting the approach of the final catastrophe by manly efforts, but more commonly hurrying it onward by excessive follies and crimes.

§ 408. The causes of 'the decline and fall' are obvious. From the earliest times, Italy was threatened by the northern barbarians. There was no alternative but to conquer them or submit to them. Hence, powerful armies were always embodied to contend in the territories, which were known under the name of Gaul. The legions employed in these wars, were as formidable to Rome, as to its enemies. The love of conquest, the spoils of war, the triumphal entry into Rome, made military fame the passion of the Romans. When their armies ceased to be made up of citizens, (which occurred when they were first sent beyond the shores of Italy) and mercenary troops were relied on, Rome began to prepare for itself the miseries, which were afterwards experienced. The almost incredible wealth and population of Rome, the measures taken by rich aspirants to power, in splendid spectacles, popular entertainments, and lavish gifts; the prostitution of religious worship,

the absence of all moral sense, and the universal depravity of all parts of the empire, but especially in the GREAT CITY, are the true causes of the convulsions in which the mightiest power that the world has ever seen, closed its existence.

§ 409. At the death of Augustus, the population of Rome comprised the rich and noble who were senators, knights, tribunes, military chiefs, and soldiers by profession; and a poor, idle, ignorant, seditious multitude. Among these classes the passions of jealousy, envy, rivalry, and ambition, were in full action with the aid of perfidy, cunning, and every form of malice and selfishness. A craving, idle population, who still assumed the sovereignty of physical force, were fit machinery to be used by the upper classes. A prodigious number of slaves gathered from all conquered countries were smarting under servitude. Over all these elements presided an executive power terrible in its action from the very nature of the community over which it ruled. Deplorable as this state of things appears to be, still it may have been possible so to re-organize and constitute the government, as to have saved the world from the miseries which followed the death of Augustus. If not, then the serious question arises, whether it be the will of the Creator that the successive nations of the earth must begin, go on, and expire in convulsions as all have hitherto been seen to do, and as it is now to be seen, was also the destiny of Rome.

§ 410. From the death of Augustus to the year 328 when Constantine the great removed the seat of government from Rome to ancient Byzantium, and gave it the name of Constantinople, by which it is now known, is a space comprising 314 years. In this time there were about fifty emperors. The events which occurred in these 314 years are found in many books of history. A part of the elaborate and elegant work of Gibbon, — (Decline and Fall of the Roman empire) is devoted to this time. It would be as painful as unprofitable to follow out these details if it were consistent with the elementary character of these sketches. All that seems to be expedient is to show the succession of emperors, and to select some events worth noticing.

Names.	Beginning of reign,	Length of reign.			Kind of death.	Age at death.
	A. D.	y.	m.	d.		
Tiberius,	14	22	7	7	Murdered.	78.
Caligula,	37	3	10	8	"	29.
Claudius,	41	13	8	20	"	64.
Nero,	54	13	8		Suicide.	32.
Galba,	68	7			Murdered.	73.
Otho,	69		3		Suicide.	37.
Vitellius,	69		8	2	Murdered.	75.
Vespasian,	69	9	6	2	Died natural death.	70.
Titus,	79	2	8		Do. perhaps poisoned.	41.
Domitian,	81	15	6	5	Murdered.	45.
Nerva,	96	1	4	9	Died natural death.	72.
Trajan,	98	19	6	16	"	67.
Adrian,	117	20	10	29	"	62.
Antoninus Pius,	138	22	7	27	"	73.
Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus,*	161	19	8		"	59.
Commodus,	180	12	9		Murdered.	31.
Pertinax,	192		3		"	67.
Didius Julianus,†	192			26	"	Uncertain.
Severus,	193	17	8	3	Doubtful.	65.
Caracalla and Geta,	211	6	2	4	Murdered, having murdered Geta.	29.
Macrinus,	217	1	1	26	Murdered.	54.
Heleogabalus,	218	3	9	4	"	18.
Alex. Severus,	222	13	9		"	29.
Maximin,‡	235	2	7		"	65.
Papienus and Balbinus,	238	1			"	Uncertain.
Gordian I,	238	Very short.			Suicide.	"
Gordian II,	238	"			Murdered.	"
Gordian III,	238	6			"	"
Philip and Sons,	244	5			"	45.
Decius,	249	2			Suicide.	50.
Gallus and Hostilianus,	251	Few weeks.			Uncertain.	Uncertain.
Volusianus,	251	"			Murdered.	"
Æmelianus,	251	"			"	"
Valerianus,	253	7			Flayed alive in Parthia, and his skin tanned.	"
Gallienus,	257	8			Murdered.	49.
30 Tyrants,		At same time.			Various deaths.	
Claudius II,	268	1	10	12	Died natural death.	57.
Aurelian,	270	5	11	9	Murdered.	61.
Tacitus,	276		6	20	Died natural death.	76.
Probus,	276	6	4		Murdered.	50.
Carus and Sons,	282	2			C. killed by lightning ; sons murdered.	
Numerianus,	283	Uncertain.			Murdered.	Uncertain.
Carinus,	283	"			"	"
Dioclesian, and Maximian,	284	18			Resigned, D. poisoned him- self, M. was strangled.	"
Galerius, Constantius, & Others,	297	3			G. murdered.	"
					C. died at York in Eng.	50.
Constantine the Great,	306	31			Natural death.	63.

* Verus, a profligate person, died in the lifetime of Marcus A.

† D. J. was a rich lawyer, (Gibbon says, senator) who was sitting at dinner when he heard that the prætorian band had offered the empire for sale. He ran and purchased for about 450,000 dollars, and the vendors put him to death before the month was out.

‡ "Son of a shepherd in Thrace; 8 feet 4 inches tall. His wife's bracelet would just go on to his thumb. He could grind pebbles into dust with his thumb and fingers. He could strike out a horse's teeth with a blow of his fist, and break his leg with a kick." (Elton's Roman Emperors.)

§ 411. The state of the empire may be inferred from the rapid succession of emperors, and the kind of death which befell most of them. The minute details of these times show that thousands and thousands of men, women and children perished in all the variety of modes which unrestrained power and the worst passions of the human heart could suggest. In short it was a period of vice, crime, and depravity, to which riches and intelligence gave their utmost aid; and when all the means which are permitted to mankind to secure peace and happiness were ingeniously perverted to make them utterly miserable. Out of this degradation no earthly power could raise the human family. Those who believe in divine revelation must see that if ever there could be a time when that revelation was indispensable, that time had come. It was necessarily long before its reforming influences could be generally felt.

§ 412. The peculiarities of some of these emperors may be worth noticing, and some of the events of their times are interesting at the present day. Tiberius was old when he began to reign. The last seven years of his life he spent at the Isle of Capræa, a few miles southwest of Naples. He left the government to be managed by a favourite named Sejanus, of infamous memory. After the age of 70 to the time of his death, he gave himself to the most odious debaucheries, and amused himself with having all persons whom, for any cause, he was displeased with, or whom his favourite was displeased with, brought to Capræa and murdered in the most torturing modes of death, of which pastime he was usually a spectator. He heard that a Roman had whispered in the ear of a dead man to tell Augustus that his legacies to the Roman people had not been paid. Tiberius sent for this person, paid him, then put him to death by torture, telling him to inform Augustus that *one* Roman had been paid. In the nineteenth year of this monster the SAVIOUR was crucified.

§ 413. Caligula was another monster. Some of his atrocities were so strange that it was doubted whether he was not insane. He married his own sister Drusilla. When she died he assigned to her the rank of a goddess. He put every one to death who expressed before him any sorrow for her, because she had become a god-

dess ; and those also who expressed pleasure at her new elevation, because they did not grieve with him for his loss. He supposed that he was visited, nightly, by a hideous sea monster. He expressed a wish that the Roman people had but one neck, so that he could put them all to death by one blow. He daily made out a list of persons to be killed, under the heads 'sword,' 'dagger,' and he kept a chest of poisons. A favourite female accidentally saw this list, and finding her own, and other names there, she concerted with them his own destruction.

§ 414. Claudius was a silly old man, uncle of Caligula. The tumult which arose in the palace on the murder of his nephew, led him to hide himself behind the lining of a passage-way. Some soldiers discovered him there, from seeing his feet ; they took him on their shoulders, and carried him to the prætorian camp, and proclaimed him emperor. His wife, Messalina, married a young Roman, in his life-time, and celebrated the nuptials with great splendour. His minister of iniquity, Narcissus, (who called himself 'Lord of his Lord,') informed him of Messalina's adventures, whereupon he ordered her and her lover to be killed. But this event made so little impression upon him, that he expressed his surprise, next day, that his wife did not come to dinner. He next married his niece, Agrippina, who gave him poison in a mushroom ; and finding that this did not operate fast enough, she thrust a poisoned feather down his throat.

§ 415. The most ridiculous, contemptible, and wicked monster, that ever appeared in the world, was Nero. It is remarkable, that he had the eminently wise and virtuous Seneca for a preceptor, and the truly respectable Burrhus, the friend of Seneca, for his prætorian prefect ; both of whom he put to death. He set himself up for a charioteer, a hero, a poet, and musician. He required his subjects to attend his exhibitions of himself. If any one, through weariness, or from any other cause, left the place of exhibition, he ordered instant death. He made the circuit of Italy and Greece, as a singer, and returning to Naples, had a hole made in the wall to enter, in imitation of the victors at the Olympic games, who so entered their cities on returning, in the complimentary fiction, that a city had no need of walls, which had such a citizen to defend it. He returned to Rome in *triumph*,

with hosts of musicians, and cars full of musical instruments, in his train. In one of his musical exhibitions in Greece, he magnanimously invited any one who thought he could equal him, to appear and make trial. A distinguished singer was so poor a politician as to make the experiment, and thinking very truly that he far surpassed the emperor, refused to yield the palm; whereupon his rival ordered him to be killed upon the spot.

§ 416. Such things are not worth noticing, for any other purpose than to disclose the general depravity of the Romans. The atrocious cruelty of Nero is seen in other acts which are interesting. In his time occurred the first persecution of the Christians, during which, St Paul was crucified at Rome, in the year 66. Nero had them clothed with the skins of wild beasts, and worried to death by dogs. He also had them nailed up in the form of a cross, and covered with combustible matter, and burnt in his sumptuous gardens, to serve as lamps. The list of his private atrocities would fill a volume. Among other acts, he ordered his own mother to be stabbed, who, seeing the assassins approach, opened her bosom, and bid them strike there; 'for this,' said she, 'gave birth to a monster.' The whole world was, at length, weary of him. He was gradually deserted by every one, from contempt, or terror, except three or four domestics. One of them, called Phaon, invited him to retire to his country seat, four miles from Rome. There he secreted himself in an out building. It being necessary to dispatch him, to make way for somebody else, assassins were sent to do it. Hearing their approach, he made a characteristic thrust at his own throat, with the help of a slave, exclaiming, 'what an artist is the world about to lose!' What a state must the world have been in, to permit such a miscreant as this to live in it thirty-two years, and thirteen of them in the place of an emperor!

§ 417. Vespasian is the person to whom the prophecies concerning the Messiah were applied, and particularly because he was employed in Judea, as a Roman general, when this subject was one of much interest. They carried it so far as to insist, that he restored sight to a blind man, and soundness to a cripple. This emperor proved to be a wise and honest man. The only thing urged against him, is the means which he took to replenish the

treasury, exhausted, as it must have been, by the acts of his predecessors. He left his son, Titus, to prosecute the siege of Jerusalem. Judea was then in a state of revolt. On the 7th of September, in the year 70, on the sabbath day of the Jews, that city was taken with terrible sacrifice of life. The number of prisoners is stated at 97,000, and 1,100,000 are said to have perished in the siege. Some opinion may be formed of the sufferings of the besieged, if the story is true, that a woman killed and cooked her own child for food, and set aside a part of it, for a second repast. The contempt for the Jews was such, that their city was utterly destroyed, and 'not one stone was left upon another.' A plough was passed over the site of the magnificent temple of Jerusalem.

§ 418. Titus succeeded his father. He is represented to have been one of the most able and excellent of men. He was called 'the delight of mankind.' In his short reign, (79—81) dreadful calamities occurred. In this time, there was a tremendous eruption of Mount Vesuvius, (79) in which the towns of Herculaneum and Pompeii were destroyed. The celebrated Pliny, surnamed the Elder, now known by his scientific works, and elegant epistles, perished in attempting to satisfy his philosophical curiosity. A most scourging pestilence followed the irruption; and then a fire that raged for three days in Rome, in which theatres and temples were destroyed, and also the library, gathered in the time of Augustus, to which the name of Octavia was given. Titus employed the captive Jews, (10,000 of them,) in building the vast amphitheatre, (which still remains, among the monuments of ancient grandeur,) capable of containing 100,000 spectators. It is now known by the name of the Colisæum. Titus was sincerely lamented by the Romans. There are many fine sayings attributed to Titus. When dying, he drew back the curtains of his couch, and looking towards the skies, said, 'I have committed but one act of which I need repent.' What he alluded to, is unknown. His brother, Domitian, was suspected of having caused his death.

§ 419. Domitian, though the brother of Titus, was by his nature and conduct, the brother of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero. His principal pastime is said to have been to catch flies, and pin them down upon a table. The

acts of his tyranny are numerous, and those of his follies likewise; and even his courtesies were terrible. He would sometimes alarm his guests with the fear of instantaneous destruction, by the sudden coming in of gladiators, who departed without causing any thing but terror; or of wild beasts, whose claws and teeth had been extracted. And yet, he caused some splendid buildings to be erected, and added to the volumes of libraries.

§ 420. The only things worth mentioning of Nerva are, that he removed the severe taxes imposed upon the Jews, and recalled the Christians from banishment, and interdicted the prosecution of them. About this time, 98, the Evangelist St John returned from his long continued banishment in the isle of Patmos. Nerva enacted that no senator should be put to death. A senator, Culpurnius, having conspired against him, he adhered to the law, and inflicted only banishment.

§ 421. In the time of Trajan, (98—117) the third persecution of the Christians occurred. Pliny the younger, who was son of the elder Pliny's sister, and who was the adopted son and heir of the elder Pliny, had received the best education. Tacitus, the historian, and the younger Pliny, were cotemporaries, and affectionate friends, as well as the two most eloquent men of their day. It is much to the praise of Trajan, that two such men were in favour with him. Both were of consular rank. When the edict to renew the persecution of the Christians came forth, Pliny was governor of Bithynia, a province situated in the north-western part of Asia Minor. When the edict reached him, he wrote to the emperor to instruct him how to proceed. He tells the emperor, that the lives and manners of the Christians were blameless; and that after the most diligent inquiry he could find nothing against them, but that 'they bound themselves, by an oath, to temperance and charity, and sang hymns to Christ, as to a God.' After this, all inquisition into the opinions of Christians was prohibited.* On the whole, history speaks most respectably of Trajan. There are

* See the compilation entitled, *History of the Roman Emperors*, by Charles A. Elton, author of specimens and biographical notices of the classic poets. London. 1825. An instructive and well written book.

some monuments in Rome, among its ancient ruins, which were the work of this emperor.

§ 422. In Adrian's reign, the fourth persecution of the Christians occurred. (117 — 138.) The Jews, indignant at the conduct of Adrian, revolted, and he made Judea a desert. One rarely encounters so singularly mixed a character as was that of Adrian. He spent seven years in traversing his empire. Neither the most intense cold, nor the most oppressive heat, interrupted his progress. He was an accomplished scholar, and a familiar writer. He was a severe soldier; irascible and vindictive; but a patron of learning, and of learned men. He died of a lingering and painful disease; and often besought his attendants to end his sufferings by poison, or the sword. When he found death approaching, he is said to have repeated, joyfully, the following lines, of his own composition: —

Animula vagula blandula,
Hospes, comesque corporis;
Quæ nunc abibis in loca?
Palludila, rigida, nudula,
Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos.

The following is Alexander Pope's translation: —

Oh! fleeting spirit, wandering fire,
That long has warm'd my tender breast,
Wilt thou, no more, my frame inspire?
No more a pleasing cheerful guest?
Whither, ah! whither art thou flying,
To what dark undiscover'd shore?
Thou seem'st all trembling, shivering, dying,
And wit and humour are no more.

If Adrian had *listened* to those whom he *persecuted*, he could have given himself a consolatory answer to his question,

Quæ nunc abibis in loca?

Elton, before named, considers these verses to have been Adrian's, composed on his death bed, and gives a translation much more in the spirit of the original.

What, my sprite! my dainty one,
Trembling on tip-toe, to be gone?

Many a day this body's guest,
Old companion, dearest, best!
Where will be thy port of rest?
What strange coasts wilt thou discover?
Is it thou! poor pallid thing,
Naked, stark, and shivering?
Where now thy jibes? Thy jests are over.

§ 423. Antoninus Pius reigned from 138 to 161. It may be supposed that Christianity had now entitled itself to some respect. He wrote letters prohibiting the persecution of Christians. His life was one of personal honour, and public usefulness. He was his own minister, and indefatigable in the public service. Every part of his empire felt the benefit of his power, and especially Rome. The senate dedicated a temple to his memory. Thus Rome might still have continued to flourish, if there had been any means of selecting worthy rulers. Aurelius, his successor, was a very humble imitator of Antoninus, in what was worthy; very different from him in many respects. He renewed the persecution of the Christians. Polycarpus, born at Smyrna, and a bishop there, and supposed to have been a disciple of St. John, while an exile at Patmos, perished by order of Aurelius, in 167. So also did Justin, who was born in Palestine, and converted from the Platonic philosophy. He is called one of the Greek fathers of the church, and commonly Justin the Martyr. He met his fate in Egypt. Aurelius is supposed to have been poisoned by his infamous son, Commodus, of whom it is enough to say, that he was another Nero; and who seems to have been ingenious enough to surpass him in follies and crimes. Rome relapsed into anarchy and confusion at his death, which strikingly resembled that of Domitian. The successor of Commodus, Severus, was born near Tripoli, in Africa. He was a mere soldier, and engaged all his reign in wars. He was a long time in England, and died at York, A.D. 211. He built a turreted wall there, to defend England from the inhabitants of Scotland. Caracalla was another Commodus. He put his brother Geta to death, and after an odious course of crime and folly, was stabbed by a common soldier.

§ 424. Heliogabalus seems to have concentrated in himself all the crimes and follies of his most odious pre-

decessors. He contrived to excel them in one thing; he sacrificed the finest youths of the first families, to read in their entrails his own destiny. Jews, Christians, and Romans were required to worship him as a God. It is not supposed that gluttony (as has been said) was one of his vices. His principal passion was to pass for a woman. He imitated the most profligate of that sex, in beautifying his person, and even went so far as to be regularly married as a bride. When he was slain his body was dragged through the city with a hook, and thrown into the Tiber. This was considered the most ignominious mode of disposing of a malefactor. (A. D. 222.)

§ 425. During all this time the northern barbarians, and the Parthians in the square of Asia, were constantly encroaching on the Romans, and sparing no exertion to free their territories from them. Alexander Severus spent his reign mostly in warfare with them. There is nothing to mention during several successive reigns but the natural action of a great empire falling into ruins. At every new succession an army in some quarter would set up an emperor; and at one time there were six emperors. These changes and chances brought up once in a while, a person of some ability, as was the case in Aurelian, who reigned in the years 270 — 275.

§ 426. Distant provinces perceiving the tottering state of the Roman empire, assumed independence. This was so at Palmyra, the city in the desert which Solomon is supposed to have built. It was 230 miles northeast of Jerusalem, and about 180 northeast from Tyre, which was on the east shore of the Mediterranean. Here dwelt the celebrated queen Zenobia, who was a lineal descendant from Cleopatra. She resembled Cleopatra, but not in profligacy. She had eminent qualities, which the Egyptian queen had not. With the delicacy and attraction of oriental beauty, she had the heart and the hardihood of an able general. In her festivals she exhibited 'the goblets of gold set with precious stones which had touched the lips of Cleopatra.*' In military affairs she did not trust to lieutenants, but on horseback accompanied her army, and shared in their toils and

* So says Elton.

perils. She had for a minister Dionysius Cassius Longinus, the celebrated Greek philosopher, who taught Greek at Athens. He is spoken of with highest praise for his critical remarks on ancient authors. The only work of his now known is his treatise on the sublime.

§ 427. Aurelian proceeded to the East, to reduce Zenobia to submission. She met him, and a severe battle ensued. It is painful to add, that Aurelian was victorious; that in breaking into Palmyra, Longinus was sacrificed by the brutality of Aurelian's soldiers; and that the heroic Zenobia was overtaken in her flight, and reduced to the misery of a captive, to a despot of a crumbling empire. The soldiery were clamorous for her death, but Aurelian held her for another destiny. This gallant lady is thought to have been a convert to Christianity. By the aid of that belief, or from the far inferior one of the philosophy which Longinus may have taught, she endured her fortunes with honourable magnanimity. She walked at the chariot wheels of Aurelian, in his triumphal entry into Rome. It is related that he compelled her to move with such a weight of golden chains and fetters, and so loaded with precious stones, as to require the aid of her Persian attendants, in bearing her burdens; and that her weariness and exhaustion often compelled her to stop. It was usual with the Romans, to send illustrious captives to the executioner, after they had been dragged through the city in triumph. It is some relief, in this sad tale, that such was not Zenobia's fate. She was permitted to retire to a villa on the banks of the Tiber, and to lead there the life of a Roman matron. She was the widow of Odenatus, and assumed the sovereignty on his death. She had a son, and daughters. The son was allowed to retire to Armenia, where Aurelian bestowed on him a small principality. Her daughters were married into distinguished families in Rome. This is the last that is known in history of the Macedonian race of Ptolemies, who reigned for three centuries in Egypt.

§ 428. From 275 to 306. In this space of thirty years, the state of the empire was such, from the incursions of barbarians, and from the assumption of sovereignty by military chiefs, as to require the association of two emperors; and also the adoption of heirs to the emperors, under the name of Cæsars. Persons, whether sons of the

reigning emperors, or not, were so adopted, in order to have capable and confidential supporters. Thus, in 285 Dioclesian appears associated with Maximin. Each of them had their Cæsars. Constantius Chlorus sustained this relation to Dioclesian. To bring the seat of power nearer to the enemy, Maximin took up his abode at Milan, in the north of Italy, and Dioclesian at Nicomedia, a city in Asia Minor, about fifty miles southeast of Constantinople. The latter instituted the tenth persecution of the Christians, and continued it with unrelenting severity, for ten years. They had now become very numerous, and had all already exerted a powerful influence on social life. Among the effects of these persecutions, was that of driving Christians into remote parts of the empire, and even beyond its limits, among the barbarians, so that some of the barbarian tribes, (so called,) when they finally overran Italy and Europe, were found to have been sincerely converts.

§ 429. An extraordinary event occurred with these two emperors. After having conquered their enemies, within and without the empire, they met, and made a splendid triumphal entry into Rome, and immediately afterwards *resigned* the imperial dignity, and retired to private life. Maximin afterwards attempted to reinstate himself, was defeated, and strangled. Dioclesian, in his old age, apprehensive of evil from the jealousy of the then emperor, put an end to his life by poison. There were several emperors in different parts of the empire in these few years; among others, Constantius Chlorus established himself in England, and died at York, in 306. He was the father of the Great Constantine, who succeeded him, and who changed the condition of the empire, 1. By embracing Christianity, or pretending to do so. 2. By removing the seat of government from Rome to Byzantium, to which he gave his own name, and which has ever since been called Constantinople. This occurred 328. It was said, that while Constantine was proceeding to Rome, to give battle to one who called himself emperor there, a luminous cross appeared above the sun, towards the close of day, which was clearly seen by his army, and that he thenceforward bore the sign of the cross on his banners. But it is also said, that his army was composed mostly of Christians, whom he expected

to attach to his interests, the more firmly, by this measure.

§ 430. However this may be, Christians were no more molested after this time, for many years. They were received into favour, and became officers of the empire, and were treated with the greater respect and confidence, because they were Christians. But hardly had persecution ceased on the part of their pagan adversaries, before it began among themselves, in bitter factions. Among other events of that day, was the celebrated council of Nice, in 325, at which Constantine was personally present, among three hundred and eighteen bishops, and a multitude of ecclesiastics, of other rank. At this council, questions on doctrines were discussed during two months; and much the same sort of questions have been discussed, with like zeal, from that day to this. Athanasius, then deacon, and afterwards bishop of Alexandria, and Arius, then presbyter of Alexandria, were the opposing champions of this celebrated council. (Nice is in Asia Minor, about seventy miles southeast of Constantinople.)

§ 431. Constantine adorned Constantinople with whatsoever he chose to take from Italy, Greece, and other parts of his empire, and soon made it a magnificent city, while Rome gradually lost its importance. The seat of empire attracted to itself the rich, the powerful, the luxurious, and the timid. Gibbon has drawn the character of Constantine, with the hand of a master. He allows to him great qualities as a warrior and statesman; and elegant qualities as a man, and respectable accomplishments as a scholar. But he charges him with crimes and cruelties; and especially towards his own son, whom (as Gibbon thinks) he put to death, from envy and jealousy of the popular affection. But other writers assign other reasons. It seems to be admitted, that in his decline, he assumed an oriental magnificence in personal decoration, which ill became a great man, for such he was, or had been. In the last year of his life, he undertook a war against the Parthians, (the unceasing enemy of Romans for centuries,) and died at Nicomedia, in the year 337, in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

CHAPTER XXIX.

From the death of Constantine, 337, to the destruction of the Roman empire in Italy, by the barbarians, in 476, including one hundred and thirty-nine years.

§ 432. THREE sons of Constantine, nearly of the same name, were jointly his successors. When their race was run, Julian, usually called the Apostate, succeeded in 361. The great importance which Christianity, or more properly christian controversies, had assumed, have made the life and conduct of this person, a subject of abundant commentary. On the one hand, it is said he was a convert, and then returned to the Greek worship; and that on his way to the old occupation of the Romans, (fighting the Parthians,) he shed so much bullock's blood in sacrifices, it was feared that the means of offering such worship would soon be exhausted. On the other hand, it is said that he could not be an apostate, for he had never been a Christian. It is not important, at this day, to settle whether a Roman emperor of the fourth century was a hypocrite or a Christian. There is no difference of opinion on another point, that having in a very unmilitary hardihood found himself on the banks of the Tigris, in the year 363, he was there perforated by a spear, and finished his course, at the age of thirty-one.

§ 433. His successor, Jovian, died on his way to meet the Parthians, suffocated in a sleeping room by charcoal. The only fact worth noticing of him is, that he published an edict of universal toleration. Among the rapid succession of emperors came Theodosius the Great, who reigned from 379 to 395. This person is spoken of respectfully by historians. He was an over-zealous Christian. It was this emperor who caused the destruction of the Alexandrian library, in his exertions to annihilate heathen worship. In his reign, history begins to speak of the *Catholics*, as a class of Christians. He died at Milan, of dropsy, in 395. Between his death and the year 403, the Roman empire was divided into East and West

by Arcadius and Honorius. Then followed a long list of emperors, who are not even worth naming. The events of their time are no otherwise interesting, than as they were connected with the great event which was about to change the whole face of Europe.

§ 434. We now approach near to that course of things, which changed all the political and social relations of Europe, and brought on that night of barbarism and ignorance which continued nearly a thousand years. The refinement and civilization to which the world had attained, disappeared in so short a time as to show, in a striking manner, the difference between long continued and laborious efforts to improve, adorn, and secure; and the light labour of demolishing all that such efforts can effect. It is true that the Romans had been preparing themselves for destruction, though they knew it not; and seem never to have been more proud of their grandeur, nor more assured of its duration, than at the moment of utter prostration. It is to be noticed, that we are now considering the Romans, in their own Italy; and not the Romans who so called themselves at Constantinople, the seat of eastern empire; for, if the people of mixed and questionable character, who were ruled from the throne there, are to be considered as Romans, they continued so to exist, for nearly eight centuries after the time when the Romans of Italy were lost in an ocean of barbarism.

§ 435. Before we consider the origin and character of the barbarians who conquered Rome, and established an empire on its ruins, it seems proper to consider what the Romans were, on the eve of destruction, and from what causes their inability to resist their invaders arose.

§ 436. The conquests of Rome had made the whole world tributary to her grandeur. The spoils of the vanquished had gathered at this central point. The frequent confiscations, and extermination of whole families, in civil broils, had given opportunity to individuals to acquire immense wealth. Excessive luxury, and the variety of national character which then existed in Rome, had extinguished all feelings of ancient patriotism, and devotion to common interest. The people, rich or poor, had long lost their solicitude in political affairs. The poor asked only to be fed; the rich asked only to enjoy their riches, careless who ruled, if their purposes were

accomplished. Commerce had always been held in contempt at Rome; none but freedmen, and slaves, condescended to engage in that employment. The various mechanical occupations, which lead to domestic happiness, and public prosperity, in the United States, were unworthy of the hands of Romans. The consequence was inevitable, that the inhabitants of the city were divided into the rich and the poor; the former too proud and arrogant to recognize the latter as human beings, the latter too abject and degraded, not to acknowledge and submit to the pretensions of the former.

§ 437. The rich were so in lands, in slaves, in gold and silver, and in whatsoever gold and silver can purchase. Their lands were cultivated by slaves, or by tenants. They stood in the relation of creditors, receiving exorbitant interest. They had also great revenues from estates which they owned within the city. The annual income of one of the senators was equal to 750,000 dollars, besides his share of products in wine and oil, which made the whole income equal to a million. In some of the annual celebrations of official dignity, the expenditure was between one and two hundred thousand dollars. When extravagant expenditures exhausted their means, they became debtors to those who could supply their wants. Their territorial property was not limited to Italy, but extended throughout the provinces. Their expenditures were given to the most costly luxuries, comprising extensive palaces and gardens, the most gorgeous display of ornaments, the most expensive entertainments, splendid equipages, and a long retinue of attendants. The poor vanity of multiplying their likenesses by bronze statues, and tracing their descent from noble and princely ancestors, were among their most valued occupations; and they assumed a personal dignity founded on such pretensions. The absence of all rational employments, and the consequent tedium of the hours between one sumptuous repast and another, were relieved, not by the cruel sports of gladiators, but by the more fascinating attraction of gaming. But for the generality of the people, the chariot races, and various descriptions of spectacles, still continued.

§ 438. A large portion of the city was appropriated to the palaces of the wealthy, and to the grounds which be-

longed to them, enclosed by high walls. Other parts were occupied by the inferior classes, who were crowded into tenements obtained by the multiplication of stories in the air; a numerous family occupying but one apartment, in a lofty building. To keep an idle, craving populace from insurrection and tumult, it was indispensable to supply them with daily food, at the public expense. Bread was so distributed; and also animal subsistence from immense droves of wild hogs, which were kept in the public forests of Lucania, where they fattened upon acorns. The Romans seemed to have imported, and to have naturalized, all the vices and depravity which they had found in the countries over which their conquests extended. For republican simplicity and equality, they had substituted the contrasts of excessive wealth and extreme poverty, which they had found in the East. The hardihood and manly virtues of their ancestors, were exchanged for the effeminacy and venality of Asiatic manners. The inferior classes had no resort but to copy their superiors, in the modes within their means, and these were found in places of the lowest debasement, and most vulgar prostitution.

§ 439. In one thing only, had all classes a common sentiment who had not yet opened their eyes to the truths of Christianity (of which class there was already a respectable number) and this was, that all the doctrines of idolatrous superstition still ruled them. Omens, dreams, and auguries, applied to the daily affairs of life, complete the picture of Roman character at the commencement of the fifth century. The whole number of persons who then dwelt in Rome is not certainly known. The lowest computation brings them up to 1,200,000; which is four fifths of the present population of London, but other computations make the whole number near to three millions.

§ 440. Such was Rome when the hosts of barbarians from the north and east presented themselves in Italy. It will be remembered that the Romans and Grecians had resisted similar invasions for centuries. The time had now come, when Rome through her own decline and corruption, was to experience the misery which she had carried to governments and the people throughout the world. While Rome was able to resist, and to carry

the war beyond the Alps, and beyond the Danube, she laid waste and destroyed to the extent of preventing the rapid increase of the barbarians. Cæsar boasts, that in his wars a million of persons in the ranks of his adversaries had fallen. Adding to this number the millions which fell in conflicts with other Roman generals, the reason may be found why the triumph of the barbarians was so long in coming.

§ 441. The origin of these nations whom the Greeks and Romans called by the comprehensive name of barbarians, is unknown. At what time they came into Europe, is equally unknown. Five hundred years before the Christian era, there were Nomadic tribes around the northern and western shores of the Black Sea. Cambyzes attempted to add them to the Persian dominions; but they fled before him, and yielded him no fruits of conquests. Under various names, they are supposed to have spread over all the north of Europe to the Baltic sea, and German ocean, and thence into Germany and France, where they were met and contended with in the time of Cæsar. In the fourth century these myriads are mentioned under the names of Goths, Ostrogoths, Vandals, Alains, Heruli, Gepidæ, Suevi, Burgundians, Franks, Saxons, Lombards, Huns, and many others. The Huns are supposed to have come from the very confines of China; and may, perhaps, be derived from the first emigrants who left the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, as descendants of Japhet.

§ 442. It is stated by historians, that these nations succeeded each other like the waves of the sea, the last comers propelling their precursors; and that the Huns were the last, who drove all others before them. Yet these are conjectures only. There were no records among the barbarians; and if they had bards and traditions, their story of themselves no longer remains. It is probable that they were Nomadic tribes who moved with their wives, children, and cattle; and that the places which they tenanted were the only homes they knew. They do not appear to have had cities or towns, or places of abode, excepting indispensable protection against the cold of the northern regions into which they were driven. They were led by military chiefs, and all the males were warriors; and their wives and children

if not actually within the reach of conflict, were but little removed from it. Towards the time now spoken of, the commencement of the fifth century, these barbarians had been long enough on the confines of civilization, to have changed in some respects their ancient habits. The varieties of language which exist in the middle and north of Europe, are undoubtedly derived from these tribes; and it is not improbable, that even the Greek and Latin may, at some remote time, have come from the source whence the languages of these barbarians came.

§ 443. In the year 408 of the Christian era, Alaric surrounded enfeebled Rome with a numerous army of Goths. All supplies from without were cut off. The miseries of famine ensued, and extended alike to the abodes of dependant poverty, and to the marble palaces. It is even intimated that the cravings for food were such, that desperate wretches fed on the bodies of their fellow creatures; and that the miseries which Rome had inflicted on Jerusalem, were now experienced within her own walls to such extent that the most powerful feeling in a mother's heart, gave way to the demands of hunger. The senate despairing of all relief were forced to send an embassy to the Gothic chief. They began by recounting the military glory of Rome, and intimated that their legions of tried valour, and trained to arms, would be poured out upon the besieging hosts. Alaric answered, 'the thicker the grass, the easier is it mowed.' Failing in this manœuvre, the embassy asked what he demanded; and were answered, '*all* the gold and silver in the city, *all* the precious moveables, and *all* the slaves who could trace their origin to the barbarians.' 'What then will you leave us?' 'your lives.' Peace was concluded on his own terms, and he retired to the north of Italy to spend the winter.

§ 444. In 409 Alaric appeared again, with his hosts before Rome; and immediately seized the magazines of provisions, which the Romans had been collecting at the mouth of the Tiber. He then demanded a surrender of the city, without terms, and subject to his own discretion, or that he should be allowed to name an emperor himself, in place of the nominal emperor who was then Honorius, and who resided at Ravenna, near to the

present city of Venice. This proposal was accepted, and Attalus was crowned in the forum by the joint agency of the Romans and Goths. But this measure could not save the city from the fate of conquest; and the followers of Alaric were allowed to pillage and ravage according to the right of the strongest. This, however, is worthy of notice, that the barbarian commander drew the line of protection around the Christian churches, and forbade his followers to violate them. It seems, that the former persecutions of the Christians had driven some of them among the barbarians, who had learned to venerate the religion which these fugitives professed.

§ 445. For six days Rome was submitted to all the horrors of a conquered city. Neither property, nor life, nor any thing dearer than life, was spared. Among the troops of Alaric were thousands who had been slaves, and who now came not only as conquerors, but to satiate their personal malice. The number of the slain, and of those who escaped and fled from Italy by sea, amounted to many thousands. Thus, in the long course of events, something like retributive justice was administered with barbarian rigour, to the proud mistress of the world. During the next three years the Goths rioted at leisure, along the south of Italy, subjecting every city to the miseries which Rome had experienced. In 412, while Alaric was preparing to invade Sicily, he died. Some of his followers turned the river Busentius from its channel, and dug his grave in its bed, and buried him there with the customary rites, and with the accustomed deposit of spoils and treasures. The river was then restored to its channel; and that the place of his sepulchre might never be known, those who prepared it were put to death.

§ 446. Adolphus was the successor of Alaric. Among the persons found in Rome, was Placidia, the young, accomplished, and beautiful sister of the emperor Honorius. She was taken and carried by Alaric as a captive, in the expectation that she would be ransomed. While she was captive in the Gothic camp, she conquered young Adolphus, and, to the astonishment of the Romans, consented to be his bride. Adolphus was convinced that he could not bring the Goths into the state of civilization, and obedience, which would justify him

in assuming a royal authority in Italy; and that his hosts must be led where war and plunder could be enjoyed. He therefore concluded to offer terms to Honorius, and to become a Roman general, and, in that character, to conduct his army into Gaul, (the south of France.) This was so settled; and Adolphus and his wife departed from Italy. In 415 he had invaded Spain, and was assassinated in that year at Barcelona.

§ 447. The measure of Roman misery was not yet full. Genserich the leader of the Vandals, had penetrated from the shores of the Baltic to Spain, had passed through that country as a conqueror; and went thence into Africa. Having established himself at Carthage, and having seized on all that he chose to possess, and having destroyed all monuments of Roman grandeur, to which he attached no value; he passed over to the mouth of the Tiber, and thence to Rome, now so broken and enfeebled as to be incapable of resistance. There was nothing in Rome that was sacred in the eyes of this vandal. The whole city was abandoned during fourteen days, (from the 15th to 29th June 423) to the rapacity and to the violence; in short, to the wants, and to the will, of a barbarian army. All that remained to public officers, and to private individuals, male and female, which a Vandal could desire, he took. The churches and temples were spoiled of every thing which glittered; and all which belonged to learning, taste, and elegance, which barbarians could not value, was destroyed. These spoils, with all the persons whom Genserich thought proper to take as captives, were transported from Rome to that city which stood on the same site, and bore the same name with that, which the Roman Scipio spent seventeen days in plundering, and destroying; and where he even wept over the miseries which he caused.

§ 448. Rome, and the name of Romans yet existed. Nothing remained but to transfer the city to a foreign power, and to extinguish that name. This event occurred in 476, when Odoacer the chief of the Heruli entered Rome as its possessor in right of conquest, and there assumed a crown, not as king of Rome but as king of Italy. Thus all Europe was subdued by the barbarians except the remnant of Roman authority, which still continued in Constantinople as its seat of empire.

§ 449. Such seems to have been the origin, the progress, the decline, and fall of Rome. Emotions of sorrow and compassion arise, that Rome, and Romans, should be prostrate before an unfeeling and ignorant savage : that brutal muscular strength should usurp the abodes of Camillus, of the Scipios, and of Brutus ; and the seats of patriotism, learning, eloquence, and refinement. But, what was *patriotism* at Rome ? Humiliation, servitude, or destruction, to all that lived but Romans. What was *learning* at Rome ? The best of the remnants which have been saved, are mythological fancies, stories of barbarous or intestine wars, severe satires on Roman manners, or complaints of suffering under the hand of rapine : the only relief, in the picture, is the beautiful philosophy of Cicero. Of the *eloquence* of Rome, the finest specimens are found in the just criminalations of its own profligate conspirators, against the rights and liberties of their countrymen. Its *refinements*, with few exceptions, may all be reduced to the using of natural and artificial products, for the mere gratification of the senses. The roads of the empire, were for *armies* to march on. The monuments of Rome tell only of Roman cruelties and robberies, or of arrogant self-gratulation. The national *integrity* of Romans is found in the answer of Brennus, the Gaul ; ‘ my right I carry at the point of my sword ; all things belong to the brave.’ What was the sum of misery inflicted on the human race, to make Rome great and glorious ! How many countries laid waste ; how many cities plundered and destroyed ; how many better men than Romans, and even how many illustrious FEMALES toiled after the triumphal car, to pass to the precincts of a prison, or to the hands of an executioner ! After all the proud eulogies bestowed on Romans, they were, in MORALS, worse than those whom they stigmatised as barbarians ; they were superior to their final conquerors, only in the refinements of selfishness.

§ 450. Here ends the history of ancient nations, excepting that the name of Roman still belonged to the empire of the East reigning in splendid and luxurious Constantinople. The events there, though occurring through several centuries after the fall of Rome, are with a few exceptions, of little importance at the pre-

sent day. These exceptions, of whatsoever importance belong, it is conceived, to the history of the *middle ages*, which has for its elements in commencing the remnants of ancient philosophy, the new policy, government and transactions of a people known in ancient history, only as barbarians; and the progress, character, and influence, of Christianity.

CHAPTER XXX.

COMPARISONS

Between ancient nations, and the people of the United States.

§ 451. In the events of these 4476 years, some materials are found for comparing the condition of ancient nations, with that of the people of the United States. It appears that the forms in which political power was exercised among these nations, comprise every form, from the most simple popular government to the most absolute despotism of one person. The three branches of government, which are indispensable in every community, that is, the making of laws, applying them in the administration of justice, and executing the laws, (when this application has been made,) appear, in general, to have been vested in one assembly, in a few persons, or in one. Thus, the senate of Rome made a law, judged those persons who were accused of violating it, and pronounced and executed the judgment. Popular assemblies, in the cities of Greece, sometimes exercised the like powers. When the government was simply despotic, and residing in one person, this one exercised the like powers. When such a ruler ordered a man's head to be struck off, as in the case of Nero, when he ordered a musician that ventured to try his musical powers, in competition with himself, to be slain, there were legislation, judicial proceedings, and execution. The law was in this case made upon the spot, that whoever pretends to be a better singer than Nero, shall suffer death; this Grecian pretends to be such; he is, therefore, to be put to death. The facility and capriciousness with which these powers were exercised, made no difference in their nature. Nor does the principle of the government vary at all, when all these powers are exercised by one popular assembly, however numerous; and when they are exercised by one man. There is no instance, among all the nations which have been noticed, where the salutary check existed, of having the laws made by one authority, judged of and

applied by another, and executed or carried into effect, by still another.

§ 452. Americans have this security, in their national government, and also in all the states of the union, that the power which makes the law, can neither judge of nor execute it ; the power that judges of and applies the law, can neither make it, nor execute it ; the power that executes the law, can neither judge of it, nor make it. These constitutional and wise provisions of the Americans have never appeared in any governments, in the separate and independent forms in which they appear in their own. And as the law making power, and the executive power, (being dependant on popular election,) may sometimes, under excitement or mistake, be exercised in modes not intended by the people, it is a great security against abuse, that the judicial power, (which is, in general, independent of popular election,) should have the high trust and duty of annulling those acts, which are clearly founded in such excitement or mistake. This excellent provision, of which the salutary use has been repeatedly experienced, is peculiar to the American governments.

§ 453. Where the legislative authority, in these ancient nations, appears to have been vested in popular assemblies, there was but *one* assembly to make the law ; and the forms of proceeding were rapid, and had few restraints. The momentary excitement was often that in which the law was proposed, considered, and adopted. The Americans have, in all their governments, two branches independent of each other, who together constitute *the legislature* ; and both branches must concur, to make a law. This requires time ; gives room for deliberation ; and the cases are rare, in which one or more days do not intervene, (and oftener many days,) between the first proposal of a law, and its final enactment. Add to this, that in nearly all the state governments, and in the national government, the executive power can exact a new deliberation in the legislature ; and thus require a more decisive majority. If that majority does not appear, the executive can absolutely defeat the intended law. Yet, there is a check on the unwise exercise of executive power in such cases. For if the required majority, (two-thirds of both branches,) be found in favour of the proposed act, it becomes a law, though the execu-

tive be still opposed. And even after this, the question may arise in the judicial branch, whether the law be, or be not, within the constitutional power to legislate. As this high trust of judicial power is usually confided to learned, able, and independent men, who are duly careful of an honourable fame, in the conscientious discharge of duty, it is clearly apparent, that the theory of the American governments is transcendently superior to any which are seen among these ancient nations. In truth, it cannot be conceived how the checks and restraints, as to mischievous or unwise use of power, could be more judiciously ordered; while at the same time, a just and wise use of power is unrestricted.

§ 454. Among the causes of the miseries which have been noticed, in these ancient nations, was that of irrational distinction among the members of society. Birth, office, or peculiar privileges, gave a superiority to a few, over the multitude. The few were rich, luxurious and tyrannical, the many were poor, craving, idle and ignorant; and yet, were sometimes the ultimate sovereign, especially in Rome. When the favour of such a sovereign was to be had through gifts, spectacles, and amusements, which the rich and aspiring could afford to present, it was inevitable that such a sovereign should become venal and corrupt. It was still worse, when the populace were idle and craving, and could only be kept from sedition and tumult, by being fed at public expense, and amused with splendid pageantry; or interested by sanguinary conflicts between human beings, or between men and ferocious beasts.

§ 455. No such causes of degradation exist in the United States. Office does not give wealth, nor the means of acquiring it, unless gross and abominable frauds be resorted to. There are no distinctions founded in riches, which are politically dangerous, or socially inconvenient. Riches come from inheritance, or industry; and the wealthy must use their wealth for the common good, or not use it at all. Wealth cannot be productive here, without giving employment to the various orders of society, in the known divisions of labour. There can be no accumulation of wealth, which will make it a dangerous engine. Comparing the riches which many individuals had in Rome, Greece, and the East, with those which

Americans have, no man in the United States can be said to be rich. The wealth of the richest is soon divided and dissipated; and one or two generations sink the greatest fortune to insignificance, by distribution. The way to wealth is equally open to talents and industry, in whomsoever these qualities are found. But, however rich one may be, and whatever use he may desire to make of riches, for purposes hostile to the public welfare, there is no such material to work upon here, as in Greece and Rome. There is in this land no idle, corrupt populace, for a Crassus to purchase; no hireling soldiery, for an Octavius to reward. Every member of society may be usefully and properly busy, and all worthy and reputable persons are so.

§ 456. A point of much importance, in comparing the nations of antiquity with the American nation, is found in the matter of *occupation*. War was so common an occupation, that it might almost be called the very business of ancient people; and when they were not so busy, and were not engaged in some exciting pleasure, they had to find occupation in modes either dangerous to the public peace, or injurious to themselves. Agriculture, the mechanic arts, and commerce, were in general the employment only of slaves. There does not appear to have been in Greece, or Rome, a class of persons known under the name of *merchants*.* While, in modern days, it is known, that merchants are among the most honourable and useful members of society. Considering how intimately their pursuits are blended with all things that tend to make nations strong and independent, and how industrious, intelligent, and comfortable, merchants may be, the presence or absence of commerce, as a national vocation, makes a most important item in the elements of human welfare. If ship-building, navigation, commer-

* The estimation in which that part of the Roman people, '*who buy to sell again*,' was held, is described in the 42d chapter of the first book of Cicero's work, entitled *De Officiis*. He quotes a line from the Latin poet, Terence, with approbation, which shows that the Romans knew nothing of the class of men, who, in this day, are called *merchants*. The history of Greece, in all its stages, discloses, that such a class of men was unknown to Grecians. The observations of Cicero are too long to be quoted. They show, as so many other facts do, a difference, in the ordering of society, most favourable to Americans.

cial interchange, and the agricultural and mechanical labour necessarily connected with these, be considered, one arrives, necessarily, at the causes of the general diffusion of property. Where there is property, or means of subsistence, there will be family ties. Property, and domestic relations, and pleasant homes, dispose the members of society to peace, and turn them away from hazardous contentions, in which much may be lost, and nothing gained. A peaceful, industrious, intelligent community, is very likely to be, it certainly may be, a well informed and moral one. In all these respects, it is obvious that Americans, in the point of *occupation*, are in a far superior condition to that of any ancient people.

§ 457. It has been seen, that all the nations which have been considered, were *religious*. That magnificent temples, a sacred and mysterious priesthood, costly sacrifices, and degrading superstitions, were common to all of them. It is also seen, that such religion had no connection with good morals, but, on the contrary, that religious ceremonies and duties either produced or concealed, the grossest immoralities. That such religion, instead of exalting and enlightening the human mind, tended only to hold it in debasing ignorance. In this respect, Americans are, or might be, immeasurably elevated above all people of ancient days. A religion has been revealed, which satisfies human reason, however instructed it may be; and which teaches a morality for all conditions of mankind, which, faithfully observed, is sure to produce the highest felicity that can be known on earth.

§ 458. One of the consequences of this religion and morality, is the exaltation of female character, of which all ancient nations were ignorant. What we learn of woman, among them, is, that her influence was rarely beneficial, and when exerted at all, was commonly exerted to some pernicious purpose. Beauty, accomplishments, and intellectual attainments, were rather means of corrupting and debasing society, than of purifying and exalting it. Among Americans, woman has her proper rank in society, as a wife, as a mother, and as a friend and counsellor; but especially, as the guardian and instructor of her own offspring, at the time of life when impressions the most durable, and the most useful, can be made. There were exceptions to the degradation, or

insignificance of female character, among Greeks and Romans, as in Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi; and even in Zenobia, of Palmyra. But, in general, woman was a toy, a plaything, which could hardly pretend to have feelings, certainly not to have mind and judgment, in social affairs. Here it is unquestionably true, that the influence of female character is one of the most operative causes in the refinement of society; and that the other sex can do no greater good to themselves, than to give to this sex that power, which they were intended to exercise.

§ 459. Thus far, all comparisons are favourable to Americans. They have an excellent portion of the earth, the best possible forms of government, the most perfect equality that human society permits, honourable and useful occupation, pure religion, and sound morality. The very serious problem is, whether Americans are capable of appreciating and preserving, such distinguished advantages? It would betray an ignorance which any person of ordinary means of information would be ashamed of, to assert that these advantages are in no peril. Precisely the same cravings and aspirations are seen in this country, which were seen in Greece and Rome. The human heart is the same now, that it was 2000 years ago. But, most fortunately, the means of gratifying its cravings, are not as abundant now, as they were then. The objects of pursuit must be the same; that is power, dominion, distinction. The means are different. A majority cannot be won now, by gifts, feasts, and shows; nor commanded by mercenary legions. But there may be differences on the policy to be pursued; there certainly will be opposing parties. It may be supposed, that a sense of interest will regulate such subjects of controversy, without disturbing the public peace.

§ 460. It is obvious, that while Greece and Rome were republican, there must have been some mode of forming public opinion; that is, some mode of coming to a judgment, on what should, or should not be done. The mode must have been, comparison of opinion among individuals; and public discussions. There were in Greece and Rome, spacious public buildings, to which

the people resorted daily, and where they held their conversations, having no such business as required their presence and attention elsewhere. The public discussions were prepared orations, which were addressed to these assemblies; and after hearing them, the public sentiment was declared, according to the degree of excitement which had been produced. Of this nature were Demosthenes' orations against Philip; Cicero's orations against Catiline, and Mark Antony; and the speech of the latter over the dead body of Cæsar.* The highly excitable nature of the Greeks and Romans, and especially of the Athenians, and the moving character of the eloquence of these times, must have involved causes and effects very different from the calm deliberations, which are common in the popular assemblies of Americans.

§ 461. Ancient people were strangers to the *press*, the great machine for moving public opinion, in modern days. Far greater numbers are affected by such means, and without any concert, or contact with each other, than could be, before the press was invented. But this machine, like most other engines directed by human agency, may be used for good, or for evil; and is now used industriously for both these purposes, in this country. The beneficial or injurious effects of this engine, may depend on the qualities of those who read. A moral well informed community will not sustain a press used for purposes destructive of their individual and social welfare. But a people capable of being deceived and deluded, as the Romans and Greeks sometimes were, by inflammatory declamation, will take the offerings of the press, however base they may be, and respond to their dictation, although their own security and happiness be the price, which they pay for such teachings. Hence it is clear, that the remedy against the abuses of the press, is no where to be found, but in that instruction which enables a community to judge,

* It is doubtful whether Cæsar's body remained in the senate chamber up to the time of this harangue. Some accounts say, that Antony had the similitude of it in wax, or some other substance, as stained with blood, and placed it in a small portable temple, and veiled, and that he unveiled it, at the suitable moment, and at the same time held up Cæsar's bloody robe.

whether the products of the press are good or bad. Cases exist now, in this country, where an individual has gained the confidence of thousands through his own newspaper; and as these thousands know nothing of men, measures, and motives, but through his version of them, he exercises a despotism as absolute as can be exercised, short of that which is founded in physical force. But, how is the fact to be brought home to the minds of these thousands, that they are deluded, and that their confidence is abused? Probably by no means, but by calamities, which dispel delusions, and which force upon the mind the inquiry, what is true, and what is false, and who are honest, and who are fraudulent? To prevent an adaptation to be deluded, and abused, there are no worthier or more effective means, than SCHOOLS. The occupants of school rooms may receive principles and impressions, which will meet, and neutralize the efforts of a corrupting press.

§ 462. It is seen, that among nations under an absolute despotism, revolutions were effected in the summary mode of assassinating the despot, and by the raising of a successor. In republics, the struggle is between parties for power; sometimes to maintain a principle; sometimes merely to sustain a favourite man; and sometimes both motives are combined. A diligent minority can increase its numbers, and become a majority. It has been seen that a dominant majority would strengthen its power, by giving to adversaries opprobrious names, by driving all opponents into retirement, and frequently by *proscribing* them, and putting them to death. Such was the course pursued by the Greeks, and by the Romans; and especially by Marius, and Sylla, and the second triumvirate.

§ 463. The political institutions of this country are founded on the principle that the sovereign, that is, the people, are, as all sovereigns are assumed to be, virtuous and wise; that they will show themselves to be so, by selecting wise and virtuous rulers. Such selection implies free will to act, according to the dictates of virtue and wisdom. But it is seen, at almost every important election, that a few men, with presses devoted to their purposes, and with agents who will adopt any means suited to the end in view, absolutely express,

what seems to be the will of the community, as exclusively, as though the election depended alone on their own will. If the election is to preserve the power of a triumphant party, the means resorted to show already a stage of corruption, which belonged to Rome in its declining years. The means are as unworthy as any which appeared in that city, and as violent as any used there, when life was not destroyed. In a debate which occurred in congress, at the last session, it was asserted, and not denied, that some officers, holding places under executive appointment, were required to surrender a portion of their salaries, (and to commit *perjury* in doing so) to make a fund to be used in perpetuating the power of a party! What objection is there to this? Can a party which has brushed away political morality as cobwebs, tell others, or know themselves, where they will stop in their career? Usurpation everywhere begets usurpation. It is as reasonable to suppose that usurpers will stop short of tyranny, as that a river will stop midway in its course, and not find the ocean. Did Marius, Sylla, Cæsar, or Octavius, dream of absolute power, when the career was first commenced?

§ 464. The same *proscribing* spirit has been manifested in this country, repeatedly, in various forms. The rewarding of partisans with offices, and exacting of poor and dependant citizens in office, to give up the liberty of freemen, and to assume an allegiance to a ruling party, is the true spirit of the second triumvirate. It differs in nothing but in the power to carry the will into effect. Nothing can be conceived of, more at variance with the nature of our institutions, than to deprive a citizen of his honest name, and of his bread, because he cannot submit himself to the will of men, whom the people have elected to office, *for a limited time*. If such measures are successful, and the ruling party can keep itself in power, by its own acts, there is an end of civil liberty, and of the Republic.

§ 465. The only things that have hitherto saved this country from tyranny, are, that the insolence of a ruling party has disgusted the citizens, and expelled the usurpers, by the peaceful remedy of election. Or, the members of a ruling party have fallen into contentions among themselves, and broken into fragments. When such

events occur, new parties arise. There is, and has always been, and may long continue to be, a great majority in this country, who are sincerely and conscientiously attached to the institutions under which they live. They are often found to be ranged under different party names at the same time. But when the alarm comes, and these institutions are endangered, all this class of citizens are seen to combine, and by united efforts, to arrest the impending peril.

§ 466. The very felicity of this country is one of its most threatening causes of destruction. Unlike the Greeks and Romans, the class of citizens last mentioned, are too much occupied in their various vocations, to think of the duties of citizens. When no pressing danger is apparent, they leave the cares of governing, to whomsoever will assume them. Thus the duration of the civil liberty, in this country, depends on this problem: How long will the friends of republican institutions, and of the union, be awakened to an impending danger, *in season* to prevent a ruling party from fixing on them an absolute dominion; or a factious one, from breaking the national bond? This problem will be solved at a period, sooner or later, just as the friends of republican liberty do, or do not, understand and perform their civil duties. They cannot repose in the belief, that there are not men among them, who will slide into absolute power, if they have the chance to do so, for such men do exist, and always exist, in every free country. Nor can they doubt, that there may be a deliberate intention to dissolve the union, though the consequences must be deplorable to those who so intend.

§ 467. Lately the dismemberment of our empire has been regarded with fearful apprehension, and well it might be. Are the people of this country to be broken into the petty and blood-thirsty sovereignties, which disgraced the Grecians for centuries? Are our young men to fall in valiant but profitless conflicts, and wives and maidens to chant hymns of glory, while their eyes are showering tears? Are there not Persians in the East, who will rejoice in our calamities, and delight to see us diligently engaged in mutual destruction? The Persian, the Grecian, (under Alexander,) and the Roman empires fell into fragments, from their vast extent, wherein

unity could no longer be an element. The twenty satrapies (or kingdoms rather) of Persia, and each one of the Roman provinces, had their respective governors. Each one of these had a separate interest from that of the governed, and an interest hardly less separate from that of the chief, from whom he derived his authority. Oppressions and tyrannies could not reach the ear of this chief; and if they did, his better policy was to pass them over, unless he wished to sacrifice his delegate, to reward some other. Our national empire, though less in territorial extent than either of these ancient ones, is yet large enough to be a fair subject of comparison with them. And how different is our own empire from these! We have numerous sovereignties, independent and well organized, and yet united by a national contract, which brings them all into unity, for safe and useful purposes, while they have strength enough left to protect themselves against all usurpations. But how can usurpations succeed, which can be conducted only by those who are members of sovereignties that must fall, when usurpations do succeed? Before usurpers can triumph, constitutional barriers must be broken down. The republic will have ended. It will be immaterial what comes next. The people will be ready for proscriptions, triumvirates, and emperors. We look to schools, to the press, to intelligence, to virtue, to self-interest, to save this happy land from such calamities.

§ 468. There is one propensity already manifested by Americans, which assimilates them to Greeks and Romans, in their period of decline, and which cannot be regarded without apprehension. Our republic, one would think, is not yet sufficiently tainted with the causes of decline, to commence the *perilous worship* of MEN. These ancient nations transferred their veneration for their country and its institutions, to the men whom they clothed with power. They humbled and annihilated favourites, but it was only to set up others. Their devotion was not inspired by virtues, and public services; it was an enthusiasm for *the man*, founded in some sort of splendour, commonly military, which he had thrown around himself. His admirers emulated the honour of being called his friends and followers; they echoed his opinions; they held all he had done, and all he could do, to be right;

and they regarded as an enemy, every one who dared to entertain opinions differing from their own. If such feelings are necessarily incident to republican government, then it may well be doubted, whether such sort of government can be maintained in human society : It cannot yet be admitted that they are so, and it must be hoped that better information will correct this propensity.

§ 469. Our constitutions are founded on this principle : There must be government, and there must be public officers to administer it. Let it be supposed, that the most intelligent, and the most upright of the nation, are selected for office, and that they perform their duties in the best possible manner ; does this give a title to an officer to be treated as a '*God*' ? Is he to be corrupted by adulation, seduced into selfishness, and taught to believe that the mere performance of duty is to confer favours, which demand rewards ? If American officers be so treated, they will, like Greeks and Romans, soon exact rewards very different from those which office can lawfully give. Elective officers are entitled to respect, because of the trust confided to them, *not as citizens*. If this respect be not dignified and modest, it resolves itself into fulsome applause, which the people bestow on themselves. This is to do as the populace of Rome did. But suppose the accident of election puts a man of feeble talents, or of light pretensions to private worth, into office ; in such case it is plain, that the respect is due to office, not to the man ; and to be consistent with republican dignity, surely it should be modest. It is to be feared that the consideration attached to elective offices, in this country, both by those who hold them, and those who confer them, indicates that we might be better informed than we are, on the nature of our institutions.

§ 470. Although public employment is not so compensated as to make it preferable to the gains of private industry ; and although public favour is very liable to sudden and lasting reverses ; and although all public employments involve some responsibility, and many of them much labour and unceasing anxiety ; and although those who devote their lives to public employment, not unfrequently encounter old age in poverty, how does it happen that candidates for elective office are so abundant ? The reason probably is, that the love of power and distinction

absorbs all such considerations. Such love, well directed, and well used, is a principle of action which is indispensable to a safe and prosperous republic. It is the *abuse* of it which is to be dreaded. That abuse has led to a distinction which belongs to the declining stages of a republic. There is already one sort of honesty for politicians, and another sort for private life. A public man may, *as a good member of a party*, make assertions, and do acts, which would cover his face with blushes, as a private person. It is seen, in this country, that the affairs of a nation may be a mere trade, which flourishes best without integrity; and that *honesty* is an incumbrance in *politics*. Power is, already, sometimes sought by contrivance, ingenuity, deceit, and apostacy. Would it be held wrong, in private life, for a citizen to abjure his principles and associates, and suddenly to associate himself with other men, professing opposite principles, and whom he had always held to be adversaries? That which shows a declining state in political integrity, and a commenced corruption in public faith, is, that an apostate from one party is gladly received and made a chief by another. But such men purchase *good*, at a prodigal price. This sudden conversion is no uncommon event in the United States. In the corrupt ages of Greece and Rome, such facility in changing sides, might be expected; but it seems to be very early, in our republic, to see it.

§ 471. From the same love of power and dominion, *directed by mere selfishness*, there is a great deal to apprehend in this country. There are seen among our citizens some who, under cover of patriotic professions, are striving for dominion, *to their own use*. Men of this character institute proscriptions in the same spirit with those which have transmitted the names of Marius and of Sylla. Such men need only the opportunity, to be as bloody as these two Romans were. They promise rewards, as Cæsar and Octavius did. They do not take the estates and patrimony of harmless or opposing citizens, for they have not craving legions to sustain them in doing this; but the spirit is the same, and, with the like opportunity, why should not they, who feel it, go as far? They can and do make of themselves suns, for satellites to revolve

around; and these satellites know that they must quit their spheres, and fall into ruin, when their sun is extinguished. The number of such cases, whether on a great or small scale, have been few, within the last half century; but there have been enough of them to show, that young as our republic is, they may exist. Of every such plotting, selfish citizen, this country has reason to be afraid; for, of every such citizen it may be said, as Sylla said of Cæsar, ‘**THERE IS MANY A MARIUS IN THAT MAN.**’

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